

THE
SOCIAL HERITAGES OF THE MOLOKANE
Monographic Study of the Molokane in Los Angeles

A Thesis
Presented to the Department of Sociology
University of Southern California

In partial fulfillment
of the
Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts

By
Pauline V. Young

May 28, 1926

UMI Number: EP68055

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP68055

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

This thesis, having been approved by the special Faculty Committee, is accepted by the Council on Graduate Study and Research of the University of Southern California, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

R. D. Hunt

Dean

Merou Clark

Secretary

Date *June 5, 1926*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	
I. Travels of the Molokane	1-20
II. Origin and History of Molokanism	21-35
III. Excursus on the Raskol	36-53
IV. Molokan Customs and Mores	54-68
V. Molokan Religion	69-95
VI. Molokan Ritualism	96-114
VII. Molokan Prophets and Prophecies	115-139
VIII. Molokan Familial and Economic Organization	140-172
IX. Molokan Communal Organization	173-193
Appendix I	193-195
Appendix II	196-201
Bibliography	202-210
<u>Illustrations:</u>	
"Plans" of Klubnikin	122-123
Writings of Rudometkin	134
Molokan village	144
"Types"	146
Molokan Art Work	149
Molokan Music	160-162
Map of Russia	192

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The present study is presented with considerable hesitancy. The study of Russian sects has been prosecuted with great vigor by European as well as American scholars, and there is a wealth of material available in Russian, English, German, and French. To make a valuable addition to this literature is almost more than one could hope. However, most of the authorities on the subject have treated the study of sectarianism from an historical or religious point of view rather than from a sociological approach. The writer has labored under several difficulties, and at times the whole enterprise seemed almost presumptuous.

One of these difficulties is the problem of language. Russian acquired while a student in a Russian "gymnasium" in Poland leaves a Polish accent which clings tenaciously; and Americanisms have entered to offend the Russian purist's ear. Fortunately the Molokane are not purists. They have revived the writer's Russian so far that Russian intellectualists now accuse her of talking Russian "like a Molokan." That was more success than she had hoped for, but what more could a student of such a group desire in this regard than to arrive at the point where conversation would flow freely even when dealing with the intricacies of theology.

Another, among these difficulties is the fact that the writer is not a Molokan. That seemed a serious matter at the beginning of the investigation. Particularly since long experience has shown these much persecuted and often

misunderstood people the necessity for caution in dealing with strangers whether Russian or American. However, the Molokane have had contacts in Russia with students of sectarianism, and when the investigator makes it clear to their leaders that her interests are similar to those of Livanov, Bonch-Bruevitch, Prochanov, and Prugavin, they welcome one heartily and cooperate in every possible way.

Then it is that the elders will recount in detail their history, tradition and customs. Conclaves of elders are arranged, and the investigator inducted into the many problems of the sect. This experience is in some respects like that reported by Sir McKenzie Wallace in his book on Russia.

"While travelling on the Steppes, I heard a great deal about a peculiar religious sect called the Molokanye, and I felt interested in them because their religious belief, whatever it was, seemed to have a beneficial influence on their material welfare. Of the same race and placed in the same positions as the orthodox peasantry around them, they were undoubtedly better housed, better clad, more punctual in the payment of their taxes, and, in a word, more prosperous. All my informants agree in describing them as quiet, sober, decent people; . . . In the village through which I passed, I found numerous members of the sect, but they all showed a decided repugnance to speak about religious beliefs. Long accustomed to extortion and persecution at the hands of the administration, . . . they carefully avoided speaking on any one subject beyond the state of the weather and the prospects of the harvest, and replied to my question on other topics

as if they had been standing before a Grand Inquisitor.

A few unsuccessful attempts convinced me that it would be impossible to extract from them their religious beliefs by direct questioning. I adopted a different system of tactics. From meager replies, I have already discovered that their doctrine had already a superficial resemblance to Presbyterianism, and from former experience, I was aware that the curiosity of intelligent Russian peasants is easily excited by descriptions of foreign countries. On these two facts I based my plan of campaign. When I found a Molokan, or someone whom I suspected to be such, I talked for some time about the weather and crops, as if I had no ulterior object in view. Having fully discussed this matter, I led the conversation from the weather and crops in Russia to the weather and crops in Scotland, and then passed slowly from the Scotch agriculture to the Scotch Presbyterian Church. On nearly every occasion this policy succeeded. When the peasant heard that there was a country in which the people interpret for themselves the Scriptures, had no bishops, and considered the veneration of Icons as idolatry, he invariably listened with profound attention; and when he learned further that in that wonderful country the parishes annually sent deputies to an assembly in which all matters pertaining to the Church were freely and publicly discussed, he almost always gave free expression to his astonishment, and I had to answer a whole volley of questions. 'Where is that country?' 'Is it to the East or the West?' 'Is it far?' 'If our presbyter could only

hear all that!'

This last expression was precisely what I wanted, because it gave me an opportunity of making the acquaintance of the presbyter, or pastor, without seeming to desire it; and I knew that a conversation with that personage, who is always an uneducated peasant like the others, but is generally more intelligent and better acquainted with religious doctrine, would certainly be of use to me. On more than one occasion I spent a great part of the night with a presbyter, and thereby learned much concerning the religious beliefs and practices of the sect. After these interviews, I was sure to be treated with confidence and respect by all Molokanye in the village, and recommended to the brethern of the faith in the neighboring villages through which I intended to pass."

These interviews of Sir McKenzie Wallace almost duplicate the author's experience with members of the group in Los Angeles.

Among the Molokane affairs of the state are dealt with (at least in public) only by the older men. At first blush it would seem incredible that a woman whose children were still babes should ever catch the ear of these veterans. It is improbable that a young Molokan woman (unless indubitably imbued with the Holy Spirit) would have the temerity to engage in such an undertaking. However, in common with the practice of many similar primary social groups, a woman from another group is not assigned the traditional status of women within the group, but is given whatever status her particular quali-

¹ Sir Mc Kensie Wallace, Russia, 293-94..

ties and bearing requires. This social practice made possible the solution of otherwise insuperable difficulties!

The writer has acted on the belief that if the attention of the investigator is focused directly upon the object of study and if one's attitude is friendly, sympathetic and respectful in dealing with matters sacred to the group, the difficulties presented by differences in age, sex, nationality, religion, dress, pronunciation and the like need not interfere with the study.

To hope for complete accuracy in dealing with such an involved and vast subject as Molokanism is vain. The writer will be greatly indebted to readers who will assist in correcting mistatements or incorrect inferences. They are a large sect scattered over a wide area. Within this area are numerous groups to a considerable extent isolated from each other. Under these circumstances differences in experience have led to difference in practice. Discrepancies in the stories told by Molokane in Los Angeles are in good part due to actual differences in Russia. And as far as possible these variations of opinion have been indicated in the text. It has not been possible in all respects to make certain of historical accuracy in each instance. Indeed from the point of view of Sociology, it is not important to do so. A traditional episode with but slight historical basis may well be as important a social force in the group as a verifiable incident. The writer has sought to discover the forces which control the present attitude and conduct of the group, and has not

attempted to write their history.

Early in the study the question of the validity of the oral testimony of the group was raised. A careful check was made with authoritative writers on the sect in Russia. Scores of comparisons were made with such a high degree of success (in fact no serious discrepancy was discovered) that the conviction is forced upon one that members of the group are conversant with its past and are able to repeat it with remarkable fidelity. The arduous task of verifying the oral tradition was completed with the help of Miss Ella Hostetter, a graduate student in Sociology at the University of Southern California. She gave generously of her time over a period of five months.

A more serious difficulty was encountered in evaluating the bias which one may expect to encounter in the literature dealing with the controversial aspect of the subject. Sectarianism roused many passions in Russia. Critics and apologists of the movement arose on every side. Since dissension was in the nature of things political as well as religious, the central government was called upon to deal with the dissenters. Just how far the bureaucracy went in its attempts to suppress dissension, it is difficult to say. However, there is almost complete unanimity among both Molokan and non-Molokan writers, among scientific as well as popular writers, that it resorted to many of those devices of oppression which every autocracy has felt called upon to use since the days of the Pharaohs. Even if one relies only upon the statements of the most careful writers, in this

matter the burden of proof seems to rest squarely upon the defenders of the autocracy.

Anyone who has translated from one language to another knows the serious difficulty involved in producing a readable yet accurate statement. Great pains were necessary, therefore, in dealing with Russian sources and commentaries. Practically all the translations, particularly those from Molokan sources were edited by Dr. Theodore Krystofovitch. The writer is deeply indebted to his painstaking accuracy and scholarly interest for whatever merit they possess. To conserve space some of the material was abstracted, but care has been exercised to give the thought of the writer correctly.

It was not thought expedient to use all the material secured in the course of the study. Many interests are involved and serious inconvenience can result to members of the colony and especially to those social agencies which are seeking to serve the group by indiscriminating use of data which must be treated confidentially, at least for the present. It is hoped that ways and means for using such data constructively will be found.

One kind of data the writer was wholly unprepared to secure: the music for the religious songs. Miss Mamie Thilo, a graduate of the University of Southern California, kindly consented to reduce this music to written form.

Acknowledgement should be made to Miss Charlotte Brown, the Librarian at the University of Southern California, who has been for a period of several months securing books on the subject from many large libraries of the country.

Mr. Mark Villchur, author of Russkie v Amerike, (Russians in America), and at present manager of the Russian department of the Foreign Language Information Service, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City, has been of valuable assistance to writer in securing a list of books of competent authorities on the subject of Molokanism as well as Sectarianism in general.

The writer was inducted into the literature through a publication of the Harvard University Press, Russian Dissenters, by F.C. Conybeare, who has travelled extensively among the Molokane in Transcaucasia. He mentions a number of authoritative writings many of which were immediately canvassed, and from those an additional bibliography was secured. Some unfortunately were not accessible, but are known only through the writings of other students. Mr. Conybeare for example, reports: "Another Russian work I have transferred almost bodily to my pages. This is the extremely rare brochure of I. Uzov, or Yusov, Rus-skie Dissidenty, St. Petersburg, 1881. This is a work of impartial and independent criticism and valuable for its numerous and well chosen citations from earlier works on the subject. In many cases where I have identified these citations I found them accurate."² Other authorities, such as H.I. Kostomarov, Russian History in Biographies, five volumes, were liberally consulted. Use was also made of I. Ivanovski, Professor of the History of the Russian Raskol at Kazan Seminary, who is reported to be "openly hostile"³ to the dissenters.

² F.C. Conybeare, Russian Dissenters, Page 1 of Preface.

³ Ibid., 317.

Acknowledgement should be made to the faculty committee in charge of the thesis (Professor C.M. Case, chairman and Professor W.C. Smith and Professor J.H. Montgomery) who read the work in advance and have made many suggestions.

Further acknowledgements should be made to the large number of Molokane who have shown the greatest patience and unexcelled hospitality on many occasions. Their generosity, hospitality and kindness are the natural concomitants of their simple direct, earnest religious idealism. This more than any other circumstance has repaid the writer manifold all the pains and fatigues which were incidental to the work.

The present section is designed to collect and interpret the social heritages of the Molokane. It deals with the attitudes and values which the Molokane brought to Los Angeles from their Russian milieu. These attitudes and values are viewed as the outcome of over 150 years conflict with the Russian government and church hierarchy. The interaction of these with other social forces gave rise to an Eldorado myth in the group which resulted in the migration of a large number to America where complete religious freedom was to be found and the integrity of the group could be maintained. The story of the American experience is now in preparation and will constitute a second part.

Responsibility for this study rests upon the first-named signer hereto. The second-named signs only by virtue of the

fact that he has acted as "shadow," and that he drew up in large part this introductory note under the guidance of the author of the study.

Pauline V. Young
Erle Fiske Young

CHAPTER I

THE TRAVELS OF THE MOLOKANE

The appearance of the Molokane in Los Angeles was as sudden as it was unobtrusive. Dr. Dana Bartlett, an eye witness, tells the story thus:

1. I was formerly pastor of the Bethlehem Institute, an institutional church, located on Vignes St. One bright morning I went out on the street and found every vacant house taken. The district was then occupied chiefly by Japanese, but there had been some vacant houses. I saw many Russian peasants, bearded and strange looking, but quiet, orderly and industrious. I motioned to them, talked in sign language the best I could, inviting them to come to the church.

One of them, Andrew Ogolzov, spoke a little English. He was probably the first Molokan in Los Angeles. He had come down from Canada where he had been visiting the Dukhobors. But finding Canadian climate too severe he came to California. According to the prophecies revealed to the Molokane he recognized this country as the one chosen by their prophets. He soon went back to Russia relating what he had seen. That was in 1904 when the Molokane were experiencing troublous times in Russia. A number of them, perhaps 250 comprising the first group, arrived in Los Angeles in 1905, Andrew Ogolzov returning with them.

I explained to them that we would conduct an evening school for them at the Institute, and that I would be ready to serve them in any way I could, without charge or any obligation on their part. The Institute became their headquarters. They came to me for all sorts of advice, assistance and information. The Molokane continued to come to Los Angeles in groups; whole families, including grandparents, brothers, cousins and other near relatives coming together and settling on and near Vignes St., West of the Los Angeles River. When the Chinese started to settle in this district the Molokane moved East of the Los Angeles River, forming settlements on Clarence, Utah, Gless and Mott Streets, from East First to East Seventh Streets. Recently some of the younger Molokane have bought homes in Belvedere and Huntington Park. There is a much smaller colony in San Francisco,

and a few small colonies are scattered thruout the Southwest.

The movement to Los Angeles is only one of the many migrations undertaken by the Molokane. During their entire history, almost since the origin of the sect they have been travelling, settling in various parts of Central, Southern and Southwestern Russia, Transcaucasia, Persia, Turkey, etc. The older Molokane still feel they have not yet reached their Mecca.

There are, of course many Molokane in Los Angeles who participated in the migration. Though they did not come here all at one time, their accounts vary but slightly. Some describe the movement in more mystical, religious terms; others more realistically. The following excerpts from interviews with Molokane indicate the general character of the movement.

2. We suffered and were tortured by the Russian government and priests for our religion. . . . They sent our people to Siberia, to dead villages in North Caucasus, amidst wild Tartars, intolerant Turks, treacherous Armenians and cruel Cossacks.¹ Central Russia was pretty well cleared of our people in 1840, and those who remained there petitioned the Tzar to let them move to the Caucasus peacefully. The government gave them some mountain land, and our people began raising corn, wheat, stock, poultry, etc. Many of them did not know the country and settled in malaria land. Hundreds of them died the first two years. The climate seemed intolerable; there was one epidemic after another; only the native tribes could live

¹For full historical account see A. Kornilov, Modern Russian History, II. Also see W. H. Dixon, Free Russia.

there. Our people moved further North and found followers wherever they went. . . . (An elder.)

3. In the Caucasus we had fifty years of freedom. In 1892 and 1895 the government began again to conscript us into the army. Our repeated petitions for exemption from military service were not granted. In 1900 we petitioned again to either exempt us or let us move out of the country. Several years dragged by without any answer or definite plans. This treatment only gave us strength. We united our forces, and in 1902 we appealed once more to the Tzar, explaining that we did not want to make tyrants of the Russian officials and sufferers of our people. It was clearly understood by our people at that time that we must move out. Our prophets had indicated that Russia would fall. . . . (An elder.)

4. During those tumultuous times a dark cloud covered the sky, and thunder and rain poured upon our heads. A vision came to one of our men, Maxim G. Rudomietkin. He was thirty-four years old. He prophesied that misery was coming in Russia; revolution, war and butchery. He said: "Brothers, let us go! Run, my brothers, do not look back! Those of you who will look back, trouble will come upon you, and you will perish." Many people followed without question. He said that for those who remain the gates will close, and they will be unable to get out. They laughed and said: "Well, what are gates, if we can't pass one boundary we will pass another." They did not want to leave because their children were still small, and they were not confronted with the problem of military service. But the prophecy was fulfilled. Those who questioned the revelation of the Holy Ghost, suffered misery, had to go to war later on, and committed the most unpardonable sin of bearing arms. The gates did close for them. Immigration is restricted and they are kept in the clutches of the Bolshevik government. About the same time that the vision came to Rudomietkin, a small twelve year old boy, Efim Klubnikin, who had just started to learn the alphabet, had a vision. He asked for large sheets of paper and pencil, and started to draw. He drew and drew for seven days and seven nights, absolutely tireless. This same boy continued to draw "plans" for three or four years. Our elders surrounded him and interpreted the "plans." It was revealed to this boy through the Holy Ghost that a bitter war was headed toward our land, and

that we must get away soon. . . . This youthful prophet pointed to a divided path. He indicated the right path as the correct way. "Go prepared! God is waiting for His people in Zion. Go, do not slacken! Go faster, faster! Do not turn from this path!" And, oh, those unfortunate people who returned. Alas, they turned back. Here went the divine road, and the Lord Himself, Jesus Christ. The small boy drew the four trumpets pointing to all four corners of the world, calling the "faithful" together. That was a sacred call to leave Russia and to go across the mighty ocean, into the mountainous country of California in the United States of America. We regard this the greatest miracle on earth, and we are thankful that this revelation came to us, a people simple and illiterate. . . . (An elder.)

5. Graf Lev Tolstoy, being a strong pacifist, took a great interest in us. He advised our leaders to send three of our men to Saint Petersburg to see the Tzar, Nicholas II and to explain to him on what grounds we objected to war. The three men went, but I don't think they ever saw the Tzar. I know they never talked to him. At the same time Tolstoy had two royal detectives in the Tzar's court who met the Molokan delegation secretly and told them that the Tzar did not take kindly to their petition and advised the Molokane to flee from Russia before martial law was established. (A Molokan man.)

6. Hundreds of people ran for the boundary lines with or without passports. Very few were caught. There was graft at the boundary lines as ten rubles would take a man across. I was personally in Graf Lev Tolstoy's house. He said that if we left Russia we would save only ourselves, and let all the hundreds of thousands, who can't get away, suffer. He advised general non-resistance. That would undoubtedly have ended in bloodshed, and, of course, we were not interested. We at once sent delegates to Canada, the home of Dukhobors, and to the Southern part of the United States. In 1905 the Tzar granted our petition to leave the country and the great exodus began. Our delegates understood that in America foreigners could get free land, that the Americans do not have compulsory military service, and that everyone could pray as he pleased. . . . (An elder.)

7. We sold our land, our goods, our possessions and started for America in large groups. There were about two hundred and fifty people in our

group. We went without passports. We did not know the way. The older people came first. My father had five sons. The three older ones came first and the rest followed in two years. They were too young to be soldiers. We came by way of Panama, passing the Black Sea, Greece, Italy, and through Marseilles, France. When we arrived in Panama they told us we still had a long way to go to Los Angeles. We had no money, and the people there needed workers, carpenters, painters, gardeners and dairy men. They liked our work and thought we were God-sent. We started to work for them for \$1.75 and \$2.00 a day. Everything was cheap and we saved enough money, in forty-five days to take us to Los Angeles. (A Molokan man.)

8. We left the Caucasus in 1905. There were seven men in our party. In Hamburg we were met by fake real-estate men whose interest lay in Buenos Aires, and they lured us on to their country. We did not discover the wrong direction until we were approaching South America. We remained there eight months, working as common laborers. We earned good wages and were treated very nicely, but we were destined for the United States, where we were to join many of our people, and where absolute personal freedom awaited us. We were stationed in a small village, and none could tell us the direction to the United States. So strong was our determination to reach America, that I walked eight days until I reached Chili. There I learned that the passage to the California would cost us three hundred dollars a piece, a sum which had tremendous dimensions at the time. We continued to work, and together with some money received from friends in California we left South America for Los Angeles. Soon after I arrived here I sent for my wife and ten month old baby-girl whom I had left in Russia when only a few weeks old. Many other Molokan families came in 1904-1906, when they were forced to leave Russia because of conscription during the Russian-Japanese war. Many of those who arrived later came to the United States directly. (A Molokan man.)

The Molokane have explained the motives underlying their wanderings in a vivid passage in Spirit and Life. This is a considerable volume, published in Los Angeles in 1915 by members of the Molokan colony. It is a

collection of peasant writings which contain practically the entire written tradition of the group. It includes history, legend, biographies and eulogies of leaders, rituals, prayers, songs and theological compositions. The story of their religious persecutions is frequently repeated at length in a very vivid manner. A more complete analysis of this book, as well as a table of contents will be presented later.

9. The passage referred to may be freely translated thus:²

THE MIGRATION OF THE SPIRITUAL CHRISTIANS FROM TRANSCAUCASIA
TO AMERICA, IN ACCORDANCE WITH DIVINE REVELATION

"The Migration into Refuge"

"The woman, arrayed in the sun, the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars."³ "And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God that they may nourish her 1260 days."⁴

"Come forth, my people, out of her, that you do not partake of her sins, and are not exposed to her plagues."⁵

(Revelation of St. John, chap. 12, verses 1-6; chap. 18, verse 4.)

* * * * *

² Spirit and Life, 315-26. An attempt has been made to indicate the stylistic peculiarities of peasant theological composition which is not infrequently confused and vague. The symbolism has probably been strongly influenced by both old and New Testament imagery.

³ A free quotation from Rev. 12:1.

⁴ Rev. 12:6.

⁵ Rev. 18:4.

"By the word 'woman', is understood the Church of Christ, founded on the Law of God, clothed with the Holy Spirit and adorned with Apostolic teachings. It is always fleeing persecutions, and standing aloof from worldly vanities."

In His revelation to St. John the Lord Jesus Christ pointed out the destiny and the fate of the woman -- the Church⁶ always persecuted, also by a woman sitting on a purple beast with blasphemous names, holding the bowl of abomination, drunk with the blood of the Saints and the blood of Jesus' witnesses.

By this woman is understood the outward ruling church which does not possess the divine Holy Ghost, but is established on rules and laws of oecumenical councils⁷ worshipping dead images -- in the form of ikons and crosses, based upon human contrivance and will; cruel persecutress of a faithful people, thus countervailing Christian teaching.

Violence and persecutions showed themselves then as

⁶ Here and in the following paragraphs the word "church" is applied to the official Russian church. The word "woman" is confusedly applied to the Molokan church and to their great antagonists.

⁷ This view is shared by other than sectarians: "The Church of Russia, deprived of all support, and of all centre of unity outside the State, has necessarily ended by being subject to the secular power, and since the secular power has no authority above it on the earth and has no one from whom it could receive religious sanction--a partial delegation of authority of Christ, it has necessarily ended in an Anti-Christian absolutism."

Prof. V. Soloviev, *L'Eglise Russe et l'Eglise Universelle*, p. 73, quoted from M. Baring, *The Russian People*, 337.
(Prof. Soloviev is an orthodox Russian intellectual.)

they do now: on the part of the clergy because of our breaking away from their church, and on the part of the state because of our refusal to do military service -- becoming soldiers and learning to kill people in war.

For the evil spirit, the Spirit of Cain, reaches to the end of the earth. From this spirit true men have steadfastly fled -- suffering hunger, cold, beatings and imprisonment; in a word, all sorts of privations and deadly punishments.

Thus the true followers of Christ, who compose His Church, having been persecuted from time immemorial -- in the beginning by Jews and paganism, and in the course of time by formalized Christianity united with the political power, but after such trials, persecutions, oppressions, and cruel sufferings endured, they have always found refuge from such evils in the countries of quiet peace and freedom.

Our ancestors, through their spirit of true and deep conviction are descendants of the ancient Christians, who entered into the body of the Christian Church, and inherited the ways of God in the world. They were of pure Russian origin -- farmers, cattleraisers, and occasionally artisans. Living in the Central Russian provinces, guberni Saratov, Tambov, Samara, and others, in the midst of formal Christianity, they were frequently exposed to severe persecutions by the Orthodox Church and the Tzar's government. And when the cup of suffering was over-

flowing, then their incurable wounds found protection in banishment.

They were exiled from their native lands, in the first half of the 19th century, from their long cherished home-nests, into the unwholesome climate of Siberia, into wild Tauris -- Crimea, and into the uninhabited wilderness of Georgia -- Transcaucasia; into which they and their followers moved willingly, and in the course of time these places became their shelter from the dread of hostile religious persecutions and their deliverance especially from military service. There our grandfathers and fathers attained full development of the Christian Church, -- bestowed from above with the gift of the Holy Ghost, forming a community of believers of true spiritual worshippers of the Father.

We, their sons and grandsons, living at present in America, are followers and participants in this society of the Holy Faith and in the Church of True Worshippers.

According to God's will we were delivered from many of their sufferings, and together with them shared the freedom of the faith and the joy of the Holy Ghost, in the peaceful, fertile and never-to-be-forgotten Transcaucasia so long as the rolling thunder did not burst forth upon that land, and upon us. It was universal, compulsory military service in the year 1887-1889 which brought irremedial damage to our religious beliefs, forcing us to consider seriously this important question.

Entrance into military service meant pollution because of impurity of food, lack of ceremonies for the sick and the dead, and the slaughter itself, which deprive us after resurrection of participation in the kingdom of God. It also meant the sacrifice of children to ancient heathen gods or idols; for the soldiers, separation from their wives and children, meant giving them up to temptation and to the nibbling of the serpent of Eden, and of the Egyptian demon -- Asmond; and our sons, if in condition to resist such an unworldly enemy, unavoidably suffered persecution, woes, lamentations, and complete extermination. We were oppressed from every side.

The Almighty Creator of heaven and earth, the Maker of Life, in His mercy, sent deliverance in answer to the sincere prayers of the peaceful and deserving people.

And thus we are the community of believers, the spiritual brotherhood of Jumpers, sons of the promised Israel and of true worshippers, inhabitants of various localities in Transcaucasia.

With the understanding given us from above our brotherhood in Karsk Province, in February, 1900 drew up a petition to his Majesty, the Emperor Nicolas II, signed by the true believers which was presented in St. Petersburg by Ivan G. Savarin, and Philip Shubin, and at the same time another one was sent to the general director of Caucasus, Prince Golitzin. Following this example other brotherhoods of Erivan Province, through

Pemen Shubin, and Ivan Cholopov, and those in the Transcaspian Province sent petitions.

The tenor of the petition was: Your Highness, By the authority of Christian teaching, the present system of military service is contrary to our professed religion. Our youths understand this, yet they perform it because of fear of punishment for refusal to perform it; yet sooner or later they will refuse to do so.

Afraid to endure the sufferings on the one hand and not wishing to cause the government to bring penal action against us on the other hand, we ask your Highness: to free us from compulsory service; and in case this is impossible to permit us to go abroad with our families.

After the petitions were presented it was necessary to await an answer, a delay which obliged the brothers of Karsk Province to send two of their men twice to make inquiries in St. Petersburg -- namely at the end of 1900 Ivan Ogolzov and Ivan G. Samarin and in the spring of 1901 the same Samarin and Philip Shubin, and finally an answer was obtained, but not the one desired.

Thus their efforts were without results. Thereupon the local authorities and the police officials did not remain for this reason inactive, beginning inquests among the prominent brothers, searches and minor arrests being without effect.

At the same time again in Karsk Province another petition was prepared, as follows: Your Royal Highness:

The refusal of our request for exemption from military service or permission to go abroad did not only not enfeeble us in our belief, but on the contrary it strengthened our conviction. We are not failing in spirit. We are ready to see the matter we have begun through to the end. Knowing the death of our ancestors and in imitation of their faith we are not afraid to sacrifice ourselves even to the last member.

And therefore we are asking your Highness to give us permission to go abroad.

We are asking thee as our Tzar and the lord of our people, the ruler on the throne of the Empire: in good will give thy hardworking and burdened people their freedom.

Such a petition was also sent for personal presentation from Karsk to St. Petersburg with two of our brothers, Gregory I. Mochov and Vasili T. Sysoev; for months they were wards of the police department, and were, by the wish of the commander-in-chief, almost sent away with a military escort. So this mission accomplished nothing.

In view of the Tzar's refusal the whole brotherhood arrived at the decision (acknowledging it as a blessing) to depart from the land of violence. They preferred flight rather than an open battle for freedom which might subject the young generation to complete extermination, for they were created for the prolongation of the human race for the benefit of the nation. The place of refuge

proved to be America, the land of peace and freedom, accepting into her bosom the seed of the blessed, the persecuted and those violently oppressed, -- just as it was prophesied in the last years of the 18th century in the writings: The Menace of the Eastern World, The Yearning of the Fatherland, The Victorious Tale, which recommended America as the refuge for true Christianity. And since the expedition to a refuge is unavoidable so also according to the sentence of the Apocalypse: "And the woman ran into the wilderness," the spiritual brotherhood was inspired by their very religion whenever and wherever they could to flee to a refuge from the conditions of universal temptation.

In 1885 in the village Nikitino, through drawings from a hand guided by the Holy Spirit -- the plans of the youthful Efim Klubnikin -- it was revealed that with the Eastern war⁸ the peace of the earth will be destroyed, and so also the expeditions across great seas and deep waters, into strange countries and strange nations, were revealed, and also much concerning the thousand year reign of Christ on earth.

Imitating the faith of our fathers, looking at the rapidly approaching universal calamity, and judging by the revelation of the Holy Ghost, which had previously foretold the Chinese and the Russian-Japanese wars of 1900 and 1904, beginning with the sickness of those living on earth, (epidemic?) and with the sign of the ripening of the anger of God toward the dishonest people through

⁸ Russian-Turkish War, 1877.

the terrible extermination of the great battle of Armeg-eddon -- the Spiritual Brotherhood, first of all with the prayer to the living God, resorted to immediate exodus from the land of suffering, as soon as this possibility presented itself: and the "wife ran into the wilderness" merely to hide and to nourish herself peacefully until the end of the wrath of diving justice on earth passed away.

Therefore, not delaying, they sold for a mere song or gave away long cherished goods, tearfully bade farewell to the fatherland, relatives, and friends, and started with God's help on the trip into refuge -- to America, the center of which proved to be the city of Los Angeles, in the State of California. The flight occurred by railroads and steamships, singly and in parties of 150 souls or less, of both sexes, with children and without. The beginning of the movement was in the fall of 1904 and the end was in 1911. The routes of the trip were as follows: (A) Tiflis, Batum, Odessa, and Tiflis, Baladjeru Rostov, -- Alexandrov, Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen, New York and Galveston to Los Angeles. (B) Batum, Marseilles, Panama and Canada. (C) Hamburg and Bremen, Buenos Aires, Argentine, San Francisco and Ensenada to Los Angeles. The cost of the trip was 200 rubles per soul over 12 years of age and those younger had a reduction. The Argentine trip was twice as expensive. The trip lasted about 35 days, that via Panama longer and that via Argentine over six months.

The brethren in whose families were no men ready for military service obtained foreign passports, while those in whose families were men maturing into that fate or ready to go to the front of the already begun Russian-Japanese war, did not secure any passports; but those the Russian border did not frighten or make any obstacle for the trip. Because of the faith which led them thick walls were not impenetrable, locks were not secure -- there was no barrier; and once abroad they had full liberty, because of the change in the passport system.

Inasmuch as the Spiritual Brotherhood were making their living along the way very few had on their own account undertaken the journey, and scarcely any one had started with money on hand.

Therefore the majority experienced want and need during their trip. But thanks to the first arrivals and their representation to the managers of the railroads and steamship companies credit was allowed them for the fare from New York and from other points to Los Angeles; later they paid off their debts with small weekly payments from their earnings.

The journey to security in America for the brotherhood proved not to be without hardships. The Immigration Commission, because of certain illnesses, forbade the entrance into the country, of many of our brothers, sisters and children, returning them to where they had started. Thus there were people returning from the shores of America into Panama, from New York and Galveston

to Hamburg, Bremen, and other points, separating husbands from wives and vice versa, and children from parents, That necessitated additional worries, resort to medical skill, waste of time and the expenditure of large sums of money for treatment. All such obstacles by God's mercy and prayers of the brotherhood, were patiently lived through and were arranged in the way desired.

By such means, by the successful journey of the brotherhood, they left Transcaucasia, their native land and all the surroundings, and came to Los Angeles; they established a close brotherhood on the left side of a dry river, along the first street east. The number in this colony together with all those living in San Francisco and in other districts is approximately 3500 souls, including both sexes and children. According to numbers the Kars province occupies first place, Erivan second place, and the Transcaspien province third place; the other districts--- Tiflis, Elizavetpol and Bakin have very few. . . They are village farmers, cattleraisers and artisans."

These excerpts do not, of course, give the detailed story of the entire migration of the Molokane to America. They do, however, show something of the underlying motives and the essential character of the movement. Its significance to students of social life has been indicated in the following comment:

⁹ Spirit and Life, 315-26.

10. This is the record in brief of the migration of a simple Russian peasant group half way around the globe guided by a clear vision of the goal they seek. Generations ago they moved, at first by compulsion, but later quite willingly, to the very edge of the Russian Empire. The march of empire, however, finally brought them again into open conflict with Russian autocracy. The long arm of Russian nationalism reached even to the wilds of Transcaucasia and demanded loyalty and service of Molokans as of all imperial subjects. For over half a century they had lived their traditional life with relative security; then their isolation was broken and the cherished traditions and institutions were gravely endangered.

At this crisis the voices of prophets were heard; "the trumpets sounded." America was hailed as the land of destiny. They saw in it religious security, freedom from an arbitrary government, and therefore, an opportunity to live a life in harmony with their understanding of divine law. Little did they foresee that by their unwitting choice the end of their journey would bring them to the very heart of an American metropolis, to a point at which the melting pot glows hottest.

They have come to very Antipodes from their former world. They were a simple, rural agricultural people who lived in small, practically independent economic groups with a relatively low but stable standard of living. In America they settled within walking distance of the center of a modern industrial city, where all are

economically highly interdependent and a high yet rapidly rising standard of living is accepted by all.

Village life in Russia had been warm, intimate, personal; seldom did it take one beyond the range of familiar faces. From this primary type of social organization they came to the impersonal, anonymous contacts of daily secondary relationships with an endless variety of strange peoples. Industry, school attendance, and many necessities took them frequently into the larger world which surrounded the colony on every side.

In Russia a small premium was placed on intellectual attainment and logical thinking. A rough scholasticism was sufficient to explain the experiences of so simple a life. Virtue was the paramount value. The practical wisdom of the elders sufficed. The Holy Spirit speaking through the voice of the prophets was the only sure guide for life. Lack of historical insight and general information lead to rough and ready application of Scriptural teachings to all experiences. American city life, on the other hand is organized upon intellectualistic lines, it demands straight thinking, and is relatively intolerant of mysticism. Expertness and not the mere "wisdom" of age is demanded of leaders. The Spiritual Christians found themselves in the thick of American materialism.

The group in Russia was organized to carry on its struggle against Church and State. Its very efficacy in maintaining itself against its Russian enemies made it

incapable of dealing with the forces which disintegrate immigrant social organization in America. Real estate agents, clever advertisers and equally clever salesmen, social reformers, public officials, social agencies, American schools, Protestant Churches insinuate themselves by guile or otherwise into the group. Against this attack the group has little defence. Withdrawal and social isolation can be maintained only partially, even though at first language is a high barrier. Participation in the economic life in America is inevitable from the very start. Participation in its cultural and even political life is but a matter of time.¹⁰

The Molokane have now been in Los Angeles for over 20 years, and the first chapters in the story of their experience can be written. While their experience is in many ways peculiar to themselves it has much in common with that of other immigrant groups in American cities. In a sense the experience of the Molokane epitomises that of all immigrant groups.

To understand the nature of immigrant experiences in America it is necessary to examine their European background. The history, legend, culture, religious and social life of the immigrant group constitute a heritage of values which must be intimately known if their reactions to American life is to be adequately interpreted. First then we shall examine in detail the traditional attitudes

¹⁰ E. F. Young and P. V. Young, The Assimilation of Sectarians, (Manuscript.).

of the Molokane and seek to determine their origin and significance in the Russian milieu.

The culture of the Molokane shows the same fundamental patterns of life found the world over. They have a moral code, religious and social ideals, family institutions, economic organizations, and so on. The behavior pattern in general is not peculiar to the Molokane as a group, but the details of practical life, their values and attitudes are in many respects typical of the group. As sectarians the Molokane had peculiar experiences and developed special needs. Their activities and institutions vary from those of other groups approximately to the same degree as their needs and experiences vary.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF MOLOKANISM

It is a relatively easy matter to learn the story of the Molokan religion. It has been told by many students of Russian sectarianism. More important, however, is the fact that any Molokan of the older generation can tell the story with substantially historical accuracy. This story is now written down and forms a precious document among the Molokane. It throws much light on the spiritual condition of the Molokan community. The written story as found in Document 13, has been frequently related to the writer by venerable, well-read Molokan leaders in the Los Angeles Colony. To avoid repetition only the written account is here reproduced at length. It has been verified by references to the Russian literature and history on the subject,

11. Molokanism began in 1555.¹ Our men, Bashkin and Boskov, were among the first ones to break away from the Orthodox Church. Many years passed and dissensions were constantly occurring, but the numbers were too small to attract the attention of the Church or the Government. As soon as it became widespread the clergy began to forbid the reading of the Bible. One of our men, Matvej Semenov, was driver for a Barin (master nobleman) and this driver used to read the Bible secretly. When the Barin caught him at it he was broken on the wheel. This cruel treatment influenced our movement tremendously, and Molokanism spread like wild fire.² Hundreds of people began breaking away from the Orthodox Church. The

¹ This date coincides with the date mentioned by many writers.

² Statistical Tables of the Russian Empire, published by the Ministry of Interior show 2,000,000 sectarians in Tambov province alone.

Clergy worked hand in hand with the government, and our people were exiled to the most isolated parts of the Empire. Children were separated from their parents, wives from their husbands,³ and each was sent to different deserted corners³. . . .

The Orthodox Church persecuted dissenters for years. Many of our Spiritual Christians were tied to horses, and their bodies covered with tar and kerosene were set on fire. The horses ran wild, struggled, and threw off the victim who died under the beast's feet. Other victims were cut open, their entrails tied to the horse's tail. The galloping horse dragged the dying men through the town to the terror of the onlookers. The abuses and tortures are untold, but we have come through it all a glorified people. (Mr. Philip Shubin)

Another episode is reported in The Confessions of Faith of the Spiritual Christians, called Molokane, published by the Molokane in Geneva in 1865:

12. . . .we have preserved among us the following tradition. . . . During the reign of Ivan the Tzar the Terrible (1547-1584) a certain English physician was called to the court of Moscow; they regarded him as Antichrist. . . . Of his family there remains no trace in tradition, but by some chance he had formed an acquaintance with a well known proprietor of Tambov who had a favorite servant, a man of intelligence and reflection, a certain Matvej Semenov,⁴ who grasped Biblical truth more quickly than his master, and therefore, without delay conceived a contempt for the rites of the Greco-Russian Church and for prostrations to ikons; having procured a Slavic Bible, he began to instill into his neighbors the unadulterated truth about the worship of God in spirit and in truth. . . and the unfortunate but true worshipper of God was sentenced to death and broken on the wheel.

³ See Jarintzov, The Country of Extremes, 115 for similar accounts.

⁴ The Russian Historian Kostomarov identifies Matvej Semen with Matvej Semen Bashkin who was condemned in Moscow in 1555. Prof. Stolov also regards him as the founder of Molokanism.

The account given in Spirit and Life is very widely read among the Molokane. Practically every member of the group knows this passage in detail. The following is a free translation of the original account which was written by the Molokane, themselves. It illustrates the constant thread of religious thought which runs through everything which the Molokane write. Its style and composition are typical.⁵

THE ORIGIN OF THE RELIGION OF THE MOLOKANE-JUMPERS

13. Our ancestors who lived in the central provinces of Russia, are of pure Russian origin, except a few little Russians and Mordvy. They were government peasants and serfs, chiefly farmers, but in part cattle raisers and artisans. Since earliest times they were supposedly members of the Russian Greek Orthodox Church, but at heart they were followers of the true faith of the Almighty, Eternal, Omnipotent God, who dwells in every living being, and not in dead, wooden, stone, or other kinds of images made artificially by human hands, the design and invention of the human mind. This conviction, because of fear of the severest punishment, torture, capital punishment, especially severe in those cruel times, was kept in great obscurity. The Light of God, the Light of Truth could not remain in unrevealed darkness, so that its rays could not penetrate those who sat in darkness, under the shadow of death. Our righteous forefathers being taught from Heaven and having a spirit flaming for God were unable to

⁵ Spirit and Life, 7-17. Some paragraphs are literally translated, others are paraphrased with some omissions.

maintain in secrecy the Light of Truth, the spirit of true Wisdom and Knowledge. Therefore, revealing their real hope and faith in God, they withdrew from Orthodoxy.

. . . Their faith reinforced their determination and their spirit. They refuted objectors, declaring that an ikon is not God, and pork is not meat (i.e. food). . . .

Simultaneously with the declaration of this faith by our ancestors, dark, potentous clouds suddenly appeared which covered their heads and hurled thundering bolts at them. Accusers appeared, traitors came forth, everywhere violent persecutions and pursuits began in those merciless cruel times.

Because of the lack of courts power was concentrated in the hands of the Orthodox priests and police. The priests reported and the police tortured. In some places the former considered themselves all-powerful and without restraints. No sooner did the priests spy a person or a group which did not belong to the Orthodox Church, who did not eat pork and did not observe fast days than -- in accordance with the fulfillment of the gospel -- they gathered without delay and applied the whip most heartlessly, striking the naked body most any place at all, as much as the bloodthirsty, tormenting priests and police desired.⁶

By such inhuman and brutal means they put to death many people, many were only half killed, and a great many

⁶ A similar account is given by Canybeare, *i bid.*, 229.

remained permanent cripples, not excepting any because of sex or age: men, women, youths and maidens. . . . Many broke away from the Orthodox Church under such circumstances, and the higher governmental powers began to persecute them by chaining their hands and feet. His Majesty, the Almighty Russian Emperor, decreed that all who broke away from the Church should be punished with the whip, have their nostrils torn out, stigmatized by having half of the head and half of their beards cleanly shaven, and sent away to hard labor in the mines or similar deadly imprisonment and their rights and property forfeited.⁷ All the minors who were not sent into military service and young children were put in foster homes and brought up in accordance with the Orthodox Church.⁸

In some instances, punishment was mitigated. They were not sent to hard labor but were exiled into distant strange places in Siberia, into swamps where life was impossible even for the most savage beast.

As far as the lords were concerned they treated their serfs worse than their cattle, inflicted corporal punishment, sent them into military service at any age, considered them their own property, used them for stakes in card games, traded them for dogs and, when in fury, ordered them to feed swine and thoroughbred pups and bear cubs with their breasts.

⁷ An almost identical account is given by A. S. Prugavin, i bid., 31.

⁸ For a similar account see Jarintzoff, i bid., 116.

In matters of revelation of the true Light and the dissemination of religious doctrines, endowed from above, filled with the Holy Ghost and superwisdom, an appandage peasant stepped out into the spiritual arena; he was worthy of this deed -- Semen Matvej UKLEIN⁹, from the village of Uyarov, Tambov province, and together with him another man, Matvej DALMATOV¹⁰.

These people ardently disseminated their teaching, spreading the gospel in its full detail as based on the Holy Bible which they read persistently throughout the realm and whose meaning they explained in its true sense. These efforts in the vineyard of God brought many fruits, so that among the believers there was established a beneficent organized order of family and communal life, and also mutual love and forbearance. . . .

9 "Semen Uklein. . . was a tailor, and travelling from village to village he met one of the originators of the Dukhobors, Pobierochin. He married his daughter and adopted Dukhoborism. In five years time they separated because Uklein did not believe that the only source of religious truth was the 'inner light' . . .

"The Molokane, a Russian rationalistic sect, was organized from the Dukhobor sect and holds many of its teachings and customs. . . . Dissenting from the Dukhobors Uklein became friendly with the followers of the Protestant rationalist teachings. . . . Appropriating their teachings Uklein organized a separate sect. Surrounded by 70 'Apostles' he triumphantly entered Tambov, where the police put them all in jail. . . . Uklein retracted his teachings and was released but again started the propaganda. Russian Encyclopedia, XIX, 644.

10 Full description of the deeds of these people is given in Spirit and Life, "Song for our First Hero", 233-5, and "Song for our Second Hero", 235-39.

The clergy and the government at first called the ancestors who professed (Molokanism) ikon-fighters because of the rejection of ikons and crosses; the common people in reproach called them nie-molaki, or the prayerless. Whereas our Ancestors called themselves the true Christians, and called others laymen and frivolous people.

In consequence, after they had formed separate religious communities, they were called by the priests, the Government, and the people "Molokane,"¹¹ (milk-drinkers) because during the fast days and on Wednesday and Friday, they ate a simple meal of dairy products, including milk, since they had milk in their husbandry. Finally their hard, cruel, painful, bloody sufferings reached a climax and God took mercy upon His faithful followers, who were endowed with His Holy Spirit. He sent deliverance to our fatherland through faithful men who in the strength of God's fearlessness, sacrificed

¹¹ "The name was given the sect by the Tambov consistory in 1765. They have adopted and explained it by the belief that the teachings which they maintain are "the milk of the word," which the Holy Scriptures mention in 1 Cor. 3:2, Hebrews 5:12, Peter 2:2, and elsewhere." Russian Encyclopedia, XIX, 644.

"Critics dispute the meaning of the term 'Molokani'. The original seat of the Milk-drinkers are certain villages in the South Country, lying on the banks of a river called the Molotchnaya (Milky Stream); a river flowing . . . through a district rich in saltpeter and pushing its waters into the sea as white as milk. But some of the sectarians whom I met at Volsk, on the river Volga tell me this resemblance of name is an accident, no more. According to my guides, the term Milk-drinkers, like that of Shaker, Mormon, and indeed, Christian, is a term of contempt applied to them by their enemies, because they decline to keep the ordinary fasts in Lent." W. H. Dixon, ibid., 138.

Various other spellings of the name are in usage:

themselves for the security and relief of their suffering brothers: PETER JURAVZOV, MAXIM LOSEV, MATVEJ MOTYLEV, and others. . . .

In the reign of Alexander the First these people petitioned the Almighty Tzar of Russia, in 1805, presenting their dogmas, their faith, and the ritual of their worship, describing in detail their religious doctrine, also their persecutions and sufferings from the priests and governmental officials; they asked the Tzar for protection from persecution and for religious freedom.

Among other things they explained their condition as follows: As soon as we gather any place to read the Bible, the priests inform the police where and in whose house they have found a gathering, and with the consent of the officials, they arrest the people, drag them forth and beat them mercilessly, fetter them with iron shackles and handcuffs, put them in prisons and stockades, bind them with chains to the wall, without daily nourishment, set them in hollow stumps of trees and send them to hard labor without sustenance but with daily punishments; and especially do the serfs so suffer. If the lords get angry they exile the old and send the young into military service and the little children into cantonments. They take suckling infants away from their mothers,¹² they send our people to

Molokans, Molokani, Molokanye, Molecans are most common. The author has adopted the spelling which nearest corresponds to the Russian. In quoting other works their spelling is given.

¹² A similar account is given by Jarintzof, ibid., 115-16.

their estates, sell them into slavery to any man, ruin them with taxes and severe punishment, exhausting them with all sorts of tortures and oppressions; thus, humiliated and unfortunate, they are trampled upon by everyone. They have asked deliverance from slavery, from the official church, from the oppressions and slanders brought against them by the priests; the rescuing of the insulted from the hands of the insulters, the release from prisons and from all bonds of confinement, freedom from the bondage of the lords, the oppressions from the police and the parish priests, that these latter should not enter their houses and should never burden them with slanders, false reports to military and civil authorities, or territorial chiefs of police, as if they had abused the priests, blasphemed the cross and ikons, and insulted His Majesty and the officials; and as a result soldiers were sent to arrest them.

His Majesty, the Emperor Alexander I endowed with the feeling of a natural law of freedom and having mercy, gave them religious freedom according to their customs and rituals, and forbade the persecution and pursuit of these people.¹³

Our ancestors, gaining the love and mercy of the Tzar, began to live in peace, and continued their existence in earthly and spiritual tranquility, following the faith of God without fear of being persecuted.

¹³ For an historical account of the sect during the reign of Alexander I, see Conybeare, *ibid*, 231 ff.

. . . But these priests and officials, seeing that their efforts had been in vain, resorted to the whip again and made false reports to the police in order to compel our ancestors to recognize the ikons and the cross. (Repetition of the persecutions endured.) This continued for decades until finally Nicholas I, with the purpose of separating the Sectarians from the Orthodox, decided to transport them into Gruzia (Georgia, in the Caucasus), under the supervision of the local viceroy.¹⁴

On the strength of the Tzar's (Alexander I) Manifesto our ancestors were able to get away, or they purchased their freedom from the lords, took farewell from their homes and households, from the cultivated, beautiful and fruitful fields and moved away with their families on strange road, in parties on sledges, one after the other, and in trains of one-horse wagons, under government guard. They suffered terribly from the exposure to bad weather on the trip and on account of the dangers they encountered. Limiting themselves and the small children to dry bread, they sought for a stopping place to earn a kopec for bread, in the provinces of Don and Tersk, and made such stops at frequent intervals.

¹⁴ In 1841 Nicholas announced in an Imperial ukase that he considered the safeguard of the "inviolability of the forefathers' Orthodox Church" among his subjects as one of the duties imposed on him by Providence, and he gave warning that severe repressions would be inflicted upon dissenters, and that the children of those who would be exiled for religious reasons would be taken care of by the Government. Alexander Kornilov, Modern Russian History, II, 294.
See also ibid., II, 295-97, and W. H. Dixon, Free Russia, 140.

Under such circumstances they reached the Caucasus, a strange, inhospitable land but a region of natural beauty, rich in mountains and rocks, with a wonderful, but to them a terrifying heterogeneous population, a mixture of nations and races.¹⁵ There, according to orders of the Caucasian governor, they settled along the Turkish and Persian borders in the provinces of Tiflis,¹⁶ Erivan and Bakin, which was formerly called Shemachin.

Thus they migrated during the last decade of the first half of the 19th century, and took over parcels of government land in the wild and rocky mountain regions. The land was wild, inappropriate for tilling, and had never been cultivated. They met strange and foreign people, Mohomedan by faith and Asiatic by race, who were in everlasting fear of their neighbors and constantly were armed with various weapons. They were wild invaders, mountaineers, Turks, Persians, Kurds, all engaged in plunder, robberies, murders, who appropriated everything that was not under lock and key; further on were the

15 "Of all the borderlands of the Black Sea, or the Russian Empire as well, none exceeds in interest the region known as the Caucasus. Its giant mountains, its magnificent scenery, its rich varied vegetation, its extraordinary collection of different races, fifty or sixty it is said, speaking scores of languages, and representing almost every branch of the human family, make it a land of wonderful romance." N. O. Winter, ibid., 122.

16 "Half a hundred languages or dialects are spoken on the streets of Tiflis. It is doubtful if anywhere in the world can be found so great a variety of languages and religions huddled together in so small a compass." Ibid., 124.

Georgians, Armenians and Greeks of Christian faith, and many similar people, whose tongues were wholly strange and their customs unknown. The migration just described took place on carts, but in reality the carts were filled with children and some necessary baggage, while all the grown-ups walked alongside the carts in bast-shoes and often barefooted.

In addition to this the more eminent people were sent under military escort. They walked separated from their families, carrying on their feet iron fetters. Moreover, they were chained to the feet of their fellow travelers.

The convicted suffered singly and by whole families, so much that from the mournful sighs and tears there remained indelible traces of the terrible journey. The newly promised land of Georgia taking into her depths new settlers and scattering them around hilly sides and cliffs, left them to their fate and to a great deal of unavoidable hardship, but with a promise of future reward.

In spite of everything our ancestors did not lose courage. During the reign of Prince Michael Semen Voronov, of blessed memory, the Caucasian viceroy, the administration and the local government, at their entrance into the land helped them with united force, and surmounting all discomforts and obstacles and hardships, they lived through all the exigencies patiently, carrying their burden on their shoulders. The obstacles consisted of ignorance of the language and customs of the local population. In the absence of means of transportation for

those going to work, they went by foot to Tiflis, where they earned three rubles a month.

As soon as they found themselves free from persecution they patiently and manfully endured hardships and handicaps and put all their hope in the Almighty Creator of the Universe. Their first task was to cultivate the lands and the wheat fields, as they had learned since time immemorial in their native land. Later they raised cattle, became craftsmen and carriers.

In this manner the religion of the Molokane of the inner sect of Spiritual Christians was publicly established, and since that time was laid the foundation of the true faith, according to manifest rules and observances.

The respected men, workers and sufferers, SEMEN MATVEJ UKLEIN with MATVEJ SEMEN DALMATOV are the fruitful disseminators of the faith and the originators of Molokanism. Peter Juravzev, Maxim Losev, Matvej Motylev are distinguished for obtaining freedom of the faith from the Tzar.

GREGORY NIKITIN BULCAKOW, not described here, handed the Tzar the petition and showed him the weaknesses of the official church. He was sent in 1842 to Solovietsky monastery. These benefactors, the beloved elders, are the means by which God fulfilled His will. Until their death they were true to their obligation, unchanged by their destiny of suffering and torture and gave their souls to God during their imprisonment. Peace to their dust and

their bones. Unfading glory is following them into
eternity." . . .

* * * * *

The older men have embodied these traditions into their daily thinking. Their oral accounts coincide with the written to a remarkable degree. All Molokane who migrated to this country, no matter at what age, know the story of the origin of their group. Many different individuals have told the writer this same story, always from the same point of view. Even though the Molokane in Los Angeles have come from different parts of Southern Russia they all tell the same story. They have long lived in a common world of discourse which has resulted in a high degree of solidarity, a well developed group consciousness and a high morale. In a group so closely bound together it is incumbent upon every member to participate in the activities and thinking of the group and to know this tradition.

Probably few peasant groups know as much about their history or spend as much time in rehearsing it as do the Molokane.

The account itself is notable for its vividness, and though crudely told the feeling and sentiment poured into it are indisputably real. Its heroic elements compel the attention of every member of the group. Indeed, it is the story of a journey through the "Valley of the Shadow of Death." Their heroes and martyrs faced the raw realities of life, and won out since they had received a "divine

call," as in the days of the ancients. These leaders are in effect canonized; they are regarded as the mouthpieces of the Lord, who has sent deliverance to His people through them, because they are the "true worshippers" and "have suffered for His Glory." They are the members of triumphant Christianity. Here is the material for a religious epic. Very few Molokane trained in this tradition fail to live up to their heritage.

EXCURSUS ON THE RASKOL

Molokanism is a part of a larger movement in Russian history. It is in fact, but one aspect of the Russian sectarian movement known as the Raskol.¹ The Molokan tradition deals wholly with the origin and development of their own particular sect, and does not reveal the conditions underlying the entire sectarian movement. It is desirable, therefore to examine the historical background of Molokanism in order to understand the causes of dissension and the religious philosophy of the Schism, of which Molokanism is but one aspect.

Christianity was introduced into Russia in A. D. 988. The Greek theologian and scholar Maximus (Maxim Grek) undertook to correct the liturgy of the Russian Church in 1518,² since many errors had crept into the Russian Holy books because many of the copyists were practically illiterate men. Many of the manuscripts were inconsistent. As a result some of the Russian ritual had been greatly altered from the early practices of the Church.

However, this ritual had been followed for several centuries, and the clergy and the masses knew no other. Maximus was soon officially declared to be Antichrist, since he had dared to tamper with divine documents, and

¹ This term is derived from two words: ras meaning apart, assunder, and kol meaning to split. Those who belong to the Raskol are known as the Raskolniki.

² For full historical account see Prof. N. I. Ivanovski, History of the Raskol.

was sentenced to a monastic prison for life.³

Fully one hundred years later Nikon Mordvinov was made Patriarch by Tzar Alexis Michailovitch, (1645-1676) Second of the Romanov family, who reigned just before Peter the Great. Nikon was a man of harsh and desperate temperament. . . who conducted himself with such an excess of strictness and disciplinary vigor that he was dubbed "second Pope."⁴ "For any negligence in the discharge of his duties Nikon put him (the priest) in irons, tortured him in prison and dispatched him whither he could beg his bread."⁵ Unmindful of the fate of Maximus, Nikon set himself ardently at the task of correcting the liturgy.⁶ He went directly to Greek sources in the hope of restoring the liturgy to its original uncorrupted form. ". . . he issued a new edition of the massbook in 1659. He ordered all of the old books called in and new ones distributed. Many refused to accept the innovation. This was a natural result of the extreme stress laid upon ceremony and details of the ritual."⁷

3. For a detailed account see F. C. Conybeare, Russian Dissenters, chaps. I and II. Also Ivanovski, ibid., chaps. I, II, III.

4 F. C. Conybeare, ibid., 41 ff.

5 A. Leroy-Beaulieu, The Empire of the Tzars and the Russians, vol. III, Book III, chaps. I-IV.

6 A. Shchapov, The Russian Raskol, passim.

7 Nevin O. Winter, The Russian Empire of Today and Yesterday, 310 ff.

See also Leo Wiener, An Interpretation of the Russian People, chap. VI.

Nikon had at first considerable leeway in enforcing his innovations. He was a favorite of Tzar Alexis and had the full support of the ruling house. The intelligent elements among the ministry, the bishops and the higher priests gave him their approval, but he was violently opposed by the lower clergy and the masses who looked upon Nikon's changes as "an imposition upon them by Antichrist," an "unpardonable innovation and a fore-swearing of the true faith." The masses firmly believed that the true Orthodox Church had ceased to exist and the ancient means of grace were withdrawn. An irrenconcilable conflict resulted between the disciples of the "Old" and "New" books. It took the form of endless disagreements and disputes over minute matters of ritual.⁸

The Orthodox Russians make the sign of the cross with three fingers, the dissenters with two, like the Armenians. The former, accept, like we do, the crucifix with four branches -- the latter tolerate only that with eight branches; a crosspiece over the Saviour's head, and one under his feet. The Church since Nikon says Allelujah twice, the dissenters three times. . . . The latter give the following explanation of the sign of the Cross, as they make it: the three fingers bent down signify the Trinity, while the two raised ones allude to

⁸ See Gregor Alexinski, The Religious Question, 310 ff.

the dual nature of Christ, so that without a word the sign of the cross proclaims the three fundamental dogmas of Christianity; Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption.⁹"

". . . the official clergy lead the procession around the church against the sun, and the dissenters according to the sun; the Russian church wrote the word Iisus (Jesus) and the Old Believers Isus, etc."¹⁰

"Each letter in the Slavonic has a numerical value, and from verses in the Bible many magic numbers were made up that were used in the affairs of every day life. But the altered wording of a new translation upset a large proportion of these and caused widespread dismay."¹¹

"The very calendar was changed, the date being counted from A. D. instead of as previously from the creation of the world. . . It was this last change that revealed to the people what they would have never discovered, if the date A. D. had not been adopted. Those who are faithful to the sacred character of Old Russia and the Orthodox faith, had protested against the new translation of the Scriptures, had been excommunicated by the Church Council in 1666. This date omitting the first figure, was of course, 'the number of the beast.' No further explanation of their troubles was needed. They were under the reign of Antichrist. . . The letters in the word 'Imperator,' the new title taken by the Tzar, unhappily exactly represent the number of 666!"¹²

9 Leroy-Beaulieu, *ibid.*, 288- 89.

10 Gregor Alexinski, *ibid.*, 310.

11 F. H. E. Palmer, Russian Life in Town and Country, 226

12 ibid., 227.

Even at the risk of losing its meaning and position among the lower classes, the church was very intolerant and uncompromising on minor matters in the ceremonies and the form of words. Nikon assembled a "council of his partisans, excommunicated, and anathematized his opponents as heretics en masse."¹³ However, a reaction set in against Nikon and he was suppressed by Peter the Great in 1721. "In the place of the Patriarchate the Tzar established the Holy Directing Synod,"¹⁴ with the Emperor virtually at the head.

Those who aligned themselves with the "Old" faith, clinging tenaciously to the ritual of the "Old" books, constitute the group known as Raskolniki, that is Dissenters. They are commonly called Staroviery, meaning Old believers. These were divided in the course of time into two prominent groups: the Popovtsy, or the Priestly, who recognized as duly ordained those priests who consented to join them; (this group differs now from the Orthodox Church only in matters of Nikon's changes.) and the Bezpopovtsy, or the Priestless. Since no bishops withdrew from the church, the apostolic succession was broken; these dissenters believed they could not, therefore, ordain priests of their own, and they refused to recognize as ordained those priests who joined them in the movement. This created an anomalous situation in the latter group. They discovered no way to meet this crisis.

¹³ Conybeare, ibid., 6.

¹⁴ Maurice Baring, The Russian People, 334.

The dissenters were almost exclusively peasants, the larger part coming from Great Russia. The peasant dissenters, some laymen and some members of the lower clergy, were thrown upon their own resources for the maintenance of traditional religious forms, and for the defense of the Raskol. Dissension was widespread, and reflective religious thinking began. They turned directly to the Scriptures for guidance. They were strongly impressed with the high moral tone of its teachings, and its prescriptions were soon accepted as the rules for conduct in every phase of their daily lives.

It furnished much material for speculation, reflection and discussion. Lacking the authority of an ordained priesthood the Bezpopovtsy began to interpret the Bible according to their own light, on the basis of their own experience and intelligence. Each one who read the Bible proclaimed his particular version as the true and correct one. Though very active in religious speculation the leaders did not come under the influence of the modern scientific movement in religious thought. Unfortunately they had no scholarship. Instead they were prejudiced against learning and those studies which would have saved them from their prejudices. But there were among them many men of vast reading. Their arguments fairly bristled with unverified facts, misinterpreted statements and inaccurate conclusions. They eagerly indulged in drawing endless fine distinctions. Such uncritical compilations only served to foster what Leroy-Beaulieu calls "erudite ignorance." With its "barren disputations and primitive methods of controversy it has created for itself a sort of crude

scholasticism, thus threatening modern Russia with a plague which had been spared her through the middle ages, owing to entire ignorance." 15

The most energetic and capable personalities among the dissenters became leaders of the numerous sects which sprung up on every hand. There was much disagreement among the leaders, each one seeking after his fashion a new road to salvation through a new interpretation of the divine law. Thus schisms occurred among the schismatics creating many varieties of independent sects.

With each succeeding generation and in every part of the vast Empire of the Tzars the religion of the dissenters assumed a somewhat different character, reflecting the conditions and events of the times and the attitudes of the people who professed it.

Some of these sects died in the process of formation, others had but a very short existence and usually disappeared with the exile or the death of their leaders. Still others compromised on unimportant details with a closely related group, and thus joined forces against some opposing sects. 16

They were also exposed to European Protestant influences which introduced a new system of religious thinking. Those further complicated an already involved situation, and more sects sprung up. 17

15 Leroy-Beaulieu, ibid., vol.III, 345.

16 See A. Butkevitch, A Survey of Russian Sects and their Denominations.

17 Authorities are divided as to the exact influence of foreign forces. Some historians on the subject, however, make references to missionaries exiled from Russia at that time. Prugavin is especially doubtful of the existence of any Protestant propaganda in Russia at that time.

CHART I

CLASSIFICATION OF CHIEF RUSSIAN SECTS

I OLD BELIEVERS (of Great Russia)	II RATIONALISTICS (of So. Russia)	III MYSTICS (throughout Russia)
Popovtsy, (with priests)	Dukhobortsy, Molokane,	Khlysty, (flaggelants)
Bezpopovtsy, (without priests)	Subbotniki,	Skoptsy, (self-mutilators)
Stranniki, (wanderers)	Stundisty, Communists,	Skakuny, (leapers)
Niemolaki, (prayerless)	Voskresniki, (Sundayists)	Pryguny, (jumpers)
Ikonobortsy, (ikonfighters)	etc.	Dietoubijtsy, (child slayers)
Spasovtsy, etc.		Filipovtsy, (redeemers thru suicide)
		Suffocators, and many others.

This list is compiled chiefly from the various sects mentioned by Prugavin, Conybeare, Baring and Leroy-Beaulieu, op. cit. Jean Finot in Modern Saints and Seers gives a long list of sects in Russia, many of whom were formed in the last fifty years. The above does not by any means exhaust the list of the chief Russian sects. It merely indicates the character of the various groups splitting from the Russian Orthodox Church. The Old Believers and the Mystics overlap.

Both the State and the Church, intimately related institutions at the time, took very hostile attitudes toward the whole Raskol movement, and "the religious persecutions in Russia constitute the blackest page in the history of the Empire."¹⁸

"From the very beginning of the Raskol the government sought to suppress it with violence and harsh measures. All of the first leaders of the Raskol died on the scaffold, many were burnt at the stake, some perished in prisons; torturing punishment followed in long and uninterrupted succession. The Raskolniki were exiled, were thrown into prisons, dungeons, monasteries; they were tried and burnt with fire, their nostrils torn out, their tongues cut off, their heads hewed off, their ribs broken with pinchers; they were thrown into wooden cages, covered with straw and burnt; cold water was poured over their naked bodies which were frozen to death; they were hung, broken on the wheel, their bodies quartered, their veins torn out. . . in a word everything that human brutality could invent to deter them through fear and terror everything was put into operation."¹⁹

Peter the Great, Tzaritza Sophia, Catherine the Second, Paul First, Nicholas Second, all persecuted the dissenters severely. Alexander First was the only tolerant Tzar the dissenters knew. "Sophia's Ukase of 1685 is one of the most draconian statutes on the page of history. She utterly proscribed the dissidents and forbade their very existence. If detected, they were to be subjected to three-fold torture, af-

18 M. Villchur, Russians in America, 7

19 A.S. Prugavin, Raskol and Sectarianism, 31

ter which, if they did not recant they were to be burnt alive."

"In order to wander freely from city to city and from village to village, the itinerant preachers and missionaries cleverly assumed all sorts of disguises."²¹ For all that, according to Uzov, they were caught often enough, and it was not for nothing that the teaching grew up among them of the expediency of suicide en masse. . . " From the beginning of the Raskol to the time of Sophia's Ukase was directed against them as many as 20,000 people burnt themselves alive.²²

But the persecutions seemingly gave them strength, and the movement grew with mushroom-like rapidity. Though the Raskol started because of seemingly harmless proposals for reform it rapidly acquired a depth and scope which no one had ever foreseen. The dissenters had withdrawn almost as a unit from the Orthodox Church, the Official Church of the Empire, the "Pravoslavni Church." The larger portion of the schismatics refused to set up a formal church organization. They declared that the strength of the church did not lie within church walls, and was not confined under a church roof, but consists in true Faith and Acts. Those who had remained "faithful" to the Old Believers thought, they must find their salvation not in sacraments but in prayer, and such other religious exercises as did not require a consecrated priesthood. The whole movement took the form of religious ra-

20 F. C. Conybeare, *ibid.*, 87.

21 A. Shchapov, *ibid.*, 313.

See also Prof. Soloviev, *History of Russia*, tom 12, *passim*.

22 P. Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Civilization*, (Fourth Edition) 71.

tionalism, plunging deeper and deeper into a religious world of their own creating. And thus such trifles, according to Stepniak, as a letter less in a name, a finger more in the sign of the cross, the doubling instead of trebling of a word, fairly convulsed Russia and caused a "reformation more radical in its principles than that of Calvin or Luther, a Protestantism of the most advanced type, rigid, rational, unitarian, recognizing God as supreme and his word only as Law."²³

The number joining the Raskol has caused much speculation and disagreement among Russian officials and scholars. According to a councillor of State, Liprandi, there were nearly nine million Russian dissenters in 1852. The Russian scholar Uzov confirms this statement at great length. "Most probably we may take 10% of the entire population or one sixth of the Orthodox population."²⁴ It follows, says Uzov, that "in 1858 there were 8,579,034 Raskolniki."

The Raskol was far from being a purely Nikonian disagreement over matters of liturgy. Its roots ran deeply into the social and political systems of Russian Empire. The old Moscovite hardly knew his own fatherland during the life of Peter the Great. The latter introduced numerous changes into the social and personal life of his subjects. Peter insisted on foreign dress, ordered the hair clipped and the beard shaven, innovations which shocked

²³ A. F. Heard, Russian Church and Russian Dissent, 275.

²⁴ Statistical Tables of the Russian Empire, published by the Ministry of Interior, in 1863

the old Believer profoundly.

The calendar, the alphabet, the magic numbers, names, dress, fashions were ruthlessly reformed. Changes occurred in such rapid succession that the old Moscovite lost his social balance.²⁵ His fundamental desire and his ancient custom was to follow the footsteps of his father. He resented the encroachment upon his private life and the sudden break with the long established customs. The earth had suddenly swung out of its orbit, so to speak, and the masses lost their foothold. These changes were considered an affront to their personal dignity. Therefore, they served to mask a profounder feeling than mere dissension from an official church. Human dignity, as it were, was at stake. His beard, his manner of crossing himself, his old Russian costume were merely symbols of his profound desire to preserve the customs of his fathers which were more precious to him than life.

He also saw in the new reforms imported from France and England an added economic and political burden. He saw himself caught in the wheels of a monstrous foreign machine which was ruthlessly breaking up his daily life. Peter the Great substantially increased the taxes which were born chiefly by the merchants and the peasants. Loaded with the taxes and financial obligations of various kinds the masses struggled to throw off the yoke. They re-

²⁵ See N. I. Kostomarov, Russian History in Biographies, III, chap. I for changes introduced by Peter the Great.

garded the author of the many changes with great suspicion and the church officials as his accomplices. Peter assumed heavy financial obligations when Russia was made over by him, and he was forced to transform the whole financial and taxing systems. The strict Raskolnik at once raised objections against a fiscal census of the entire population, and refused to register births and deaths. He declared that God alone had the right to such a register, and he quoted, in support of his argument the punishment inflicted on David. The theological objections were a direct reflection of their political and social discontent.

The Raskol occurred about fifty years after serfdom was established in Russia (1597).²⁶ This wholesale enslavement of the nation produced much irritation and friction. Hence, when the Raskol occurred much of the pent up energy found an outlet. The enslaved masses took comfort in the fact that they were of a different creed than their cruel lords, who oftentimes lured peasants into slavery by illegitimate means.²⁷ The bondsman's free soul revolted against the master who held him in bondage, against the State which authorized it and refused to recognize the claims of the serfs, and against the Church which sanctioned it. The tendencies for dissension were rooted in the Russian soil, permeating the

26 James Mavor, An Economic History of Russia, I, 66, gives the date as 1607 "when the Ukaze of March 9, 1607 made running away a crime."

27 For a full description of the practices of the lords see V. Kluchevski, The Course of Russian History, III, 214ff.

hearts and lives of the people.

When several social institutions are closely bound up together, a change in one inevitably effects the others. Serfdom, instituted in such a manner, is apt to be the fertile soil for the growth of sects, for the revolt against the existing system, and a struggle for freedom and self-expression in the fields of spiritual activity. Religious doctrines under such circumstances become mere conveniences on which to hang social ideals.

Religion, according to many writers, was only one factor in the Raskol. Authorities, such as Shchapov, Kostomarov, and Uzov look upon the Raskol as a most unexpected uprising because it was not in keeping with the coldness of the Russian religious temper. According to them the Russian people were alienated from the Church, considered the lower clergy as cheats and thieves.²⁸ Other writers, like Baring, Prugavin and Dixon see Russian life as one continuous round of religious observances. "The first impulse in the Russian heart is duty to God. It is an impulse both moral and ceremonial, present in all ranks and situations of life, present in a crowd at a country fair, in a classroom-full of students, showing itself in a huckster writing at his desk, in a burglar rioting on his spoil. . . . By night and by day, from his cradle to his grave, he lives, as it were with God, giving up to his service an amount of time and

²⁸ M. Goremykin, Sketches of Peasant History in Poland, 13

money which no one ever dreams of in the West."²⁹ Most of the writers agree, however, that the Raskol is due to a combination of forces the roots of which can be found in the social, political and economic structures of Russia, as well as in her religious life. Moreover, the very low educational status of the masses was also a powerful factor in her religious controversies and dissension. Under the influences of the Raskol family life was reorganized, developed and regulated by mutual bonds of social solidarity.³⁰

Though the Raskol profoundly influenced the masses it did not succeed in setting up a new social or political order in Russia. At best the movement was never more than a mere personal and class protest among the masses. Official State and Church went on much as before.

The Raskol is the seed-bed out of which Molokanism grew. The latter displays, therefore, many of the characteristics of the soil in which it grew and thrived. Though it has a history peculiar in many ways to itself, it is a resultant of the interplay of forces which generated many other sects, and is best understood when related to them.

"It is as difficult to pick out the most characteristic trait of the innumerable Russian sects as it is to describe the countour of clouds that fleet across the sky. . . the chief characteristic seems to be that it developed by a process of subdivision."³¹

²⁹ W. H. Dixon, Free Russia,

³⁰ For a fuller description see S. Prugavin, ibid., chap. I.

³¹ Jean Finot, Modern Saints and Seers, 103.

The Molokan sect, after it was formed from the Dukhobors, was exposed to much outside influence, that of the Quakers,³² the Jews,³³ and the communists³⁴ being the most notable.

This attention is probably due to the fact that the Molokan sect was regarded generally as the most rationalistic of all the Russian sects. This outside influence led both to further development of the doctrines held by the mother sect and led to further dissension. Each new doctrine which gave birth to another sect left a significant impression upon the original sect. The most important offshoots of the Molokan sect are:

The Subbotniki, or Sabbatarians, who simplified the Christian doctrines of the Molokane under the influences of Jewish scholars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to a species of Judaism.³⁵ (The Molokane also observe the Mosaic Law in their diet, and celebrate the Jewish holidays.)

The Voskresniki, or Sundayists, whose sect is similar to the one of the Subbotniki, but they observe Sunday in memory of the Resurrection.³⁶

The Molokane Sect of the River Don, who call themselves the "Evangelical Christians" in the attempt to offset themselves from the "Spiritual Christians" of the Molokane-Jumpers. The former is the nearest to the Orthodox Church of all the rationalistic Russian sects. They subject themselves to the government of the Empire without any reservations. They pray for it, do not refuse to do military service and take oaths

32 See J. Cunningham, The Quakers, passim.

33 Leroy-Beaulieu, ibid., 436-58.

34 ibid., 448; also Russian Encyclopedia, Art. "Molokane."

35 Leroy-Beaulieu, ibid., 456-458; also Russian Encyclopedia, 645

36 Russian Encyclopedia. XIX: 645; XI. 944; XIII. 768.

whenever necessary.³⁷ (The Molokan notions of earthly authorities were slightly modified since the appearance of this sect.)

The Communists, who found in the book of Acts (2:14) the expression "all believers were together and had everything in common," and shared their goods, insisted that their communities share in common both labor and property as well as everything derived from labor, and also advocated communal control.³⁸

The Postoyannye, or the Steady, who dissented from the main Molokan sect during a recent schism. The Steady deny the religious validity of the ecstasy which sweeps over the individual when under the influence of the Holy Ghost.³⁹

Molokanism shares many attitudes and values with the sect which split from it and those sects of the Raskol which are independent of it. This is true with regard to the tenacity of their religious conviction, the strictness of their moral code, their attitude toward government, and their social and religious philosophy. And, of course, the Molokan sect had, along with the others, their due share of persecutions. "The penalties inflicted on the political offenders of the educated classes from the Decembrists to the Nihilists reflect but a faint image of what the guileless Dukhobortzy and their younger brothers, the Molokane, had to undergo almost uninterruptedly for the space of sixty years. Catherine the Second, very tolerant of the Raskol, persecuted them fiercely when they were first discovered at about the close of her reign."⁴⁰ (1727-1796) Savage Paul

37 Russian Encyclopedia, XIX, 645.

38 ibid., 646; also Stepniak, ibid., 546 ff.

39 Spirit and Life, 18-25.

40 Stepniak, ibid., 520.

First gave orders that all the "adherents and members of this pernicious sect unworthy of any clemency should be banished to the Siberian mines for life and set at the hardest work, and that they should never have the chains removed from their hands and feet, in order that they who deny the supreme authority of earthly potentates enthroned by the will of God, should feel sharply on their own bodies that there are authorities on earth established by God, for the defence of the good and for the terror and chastisement of the villains like themselves." ⁴¹

The persecutions endured are the basis of strong traditions in the group. This can almost be thought of as a "persecution complex" which at once serves to maintain the integrity of the group and to develop a high degree of ethnocentricity among their members. The Spiritual Christians have developed a higher degree of solidarity and show a more undeviating record of devotion to religious principles than any other Russian sect. Fines and imprisonments were utterly powerless to stem the tide of desertion from the Official Church. And when they were exiled to the furthest corners of the Empire they only proved to be so many ⁴² missionaries among the natives.

41 Ukaze of August 28, 1799.

42 For a full account see Leroy-Beaulieu, *ibid.*, vol. III, book II chapter 9; also Spirit and Life, book I, passim.

CHAPTER III

MOLOKAN CUSTOMS AND MORES

The experiences of social groups as well as of individuals vary widely even when they are confined to the same country, and to the same national, racial or language group. The Russian Orthodox population and the Molokane share all these, yet the culture of the latter group is decidedly different from that of the former. At one time, before the Raskol occurred, their cultures were identical. Undoubtedly the Schism has attracted the most capable and the most conscientious of the Russian peasantry, but in general, all peasants, Orthodox and dissenters, are of one group, and originally had one set of social institutions, that is, they had the same "apperceptive mass". The Schism gave the Molokane new religious and social ideals, it redefined the situation for them, and much of the Molokan social structure and the philosophy of life rapidly changed. Molokan culture had its origin in the crisis into which the group was thrown. This culture further developed in the constant struggle to satisfy the economic and cultural needs of the group. For these reasons the institutions of property, marriage, religion; their attitude toward government, school, sickness and problems of daily life, are in many respects peculiar to the group.

Another factor to be considered is the urgent wish of the Molokane to maintain themselves as a distinct group. Definite patterns of life have developed in response to the fundamental wishes. These activities when found useful by the entire

group, after a reasonable length of time became the habitual behavior of the group, or the group customs. They gradually became conventionalized and standardized. Thus they became heritages, and thereafter found their way into the lives of individuals as a natural controlling force.

The Molokane were not satisfied with mere life, they craved a "good" life. To meet such standards they had to revise their mode of living, their mode of obtaining a livelihood, their hedonistic conceptions, their religious practices. The external pressure under which this transformation went on added to the imperativeness of obedience and loyalty to the new practices.

These practices, since they vary from those of the general Russian peasantry, therefore, have led to reflection and to a formal sanctioning by the group. Conflict with other groups has rationalized many of the group customs thus converting them into the mores of the group, and from these mores rules of conduct have been deduced. Custom long regulated the whole life of the Molokane. From his method of cutting his hair to his form of worship he has persistently followed the footsteps of his ancestors. Basing their teachings almost exclusively on the Scriptures every phase of life has become an object of religious attention. Their chief institutions therefore are religious. It is exceedingly difficult to separate the purely religious values and attitudes from the customs and mores of daily life in the Molokan culture. Thus, in a sense, this chapter is an extension of the preceding and a forerunner of those which follow it.

It is important to keep constantly in mind that the Molokane are a sectarian group and their culture is grounded in the stream

of events which shaped their experience, and secondly, that this culture has survived in large part because of their constant and unfeigning desire to maintain themselves as a distinct group.

14. The Molokane have always tried to set themselves off as a group by their mode of living, their manner of dress, and in their personal relationships. You can recognize a Molokan by the dress he wears. When he does a good deed you know who did it. Similarly the fear of being recognized keeps him from evil deeds. . . . Take the beard, for example. It has a deeper meaning to us than as a mere outward sign. It is the symbol of the bearded Christ we carry in our hearts. Our forefathers, and especially in the early days would rather have lost their heads than their beards! (A Molokan man).

15. We condemn luxury, extravagant dress, elaborate house furnishings, and fancy food preparations. We believe in utility. Our vanities and extravagances only deprive our needy brothers of necessities. 'Live moderately and share with others, cultivate the habit of saving for a needy hour' is almost our gospel. (An elder).

16. We believe that we must observe the simplicity and purity of the primitive Christians who spent their time in meditation rather than on vanities and luxuries. Some elders are very strict about pictures, even landscapes, others are more lenient. The greatest objection to pictures is that you never seem to know where to stop. Pictures were discarded chiefly because of their association with ikons and idols. Likenesses of human beings should not be produced because it is against the law to make images of oneself. We see the greatest form of art in nature coming from the hands of the Almighty. (An elder).

Personal habits have always been subject to social control among both primitive and civilized peoples. The Molokane are not an exception to this rule. They prescribe the personal habits of members of the group and have succeeded

1 During the time of Peter's reforms. See section on The Raskol, ante 46-48.

in giving a religious sanction to their sumptuary code.

17. Under the principles of our religion the use of intoxicants in any form is proscribed. We don't tolerate drinking of any kind, liquor, or soda water, or lemonade. Some drinks are less harmful than others but any one of them may start a bad habit. (An elder).

18. Nothing will drag down your standards faster than drinking, playing cards, smoking, gambling. You are always mixed up with bad associates and noisy, unruly crowds. Drinking will turn your head, gambling will arouse your temper, you lose your mind and under such circumstances the devil takes possession of your actions and your soul. Avoid the devil and don't degrade the image of God in you. (An elder).

19. Christ said: "Guard against the kvass (fermented drink) of the Pharisees and the Saducees."

20. We drink tchaj (tea). You can't get drunk on tea. Sip slowly from your saucer and use sugar na prikusku, (holding the sugar between your teeth and sipping the tea through it). Drinking of tea is a great habit with us. When we get together, no matter what the occasion, we always drink tea. A good Molokan drinks four or five glasses of tea. The samovar is a great thing with us.

Drink tchaj while the samovar is still steaming. My father used to say that lack of steam and sizzle in the samovar reminded him of the dead, while its pressure meant joy in the house. The samovar is almost considered a sacred vessel. In most instances it was handed down for several generations. Few Molokane would sell a samovar, no matter in what financial difficulties they would find themselves. We brought very few things indeed from Russia, but there was not a single family who left the samovar behind them. You very rarely see samovars here outside of the Molokan homes. The Russian "intelligentsia" never thought of carrying their samovars with them. They used them in Russia, but attached no importance to them. The mujik is too poor to possess a samovar. But the Molokane consider them a necessity. (A Molokan man).

Tobacco is also taboo among the Molokane. It is often called "devil's weed". So strong is their repulsion to tobacco,

that they take it upon themselves to reform their neighbors.

Mark Villchur reports a case that came to his attention:

21. Once a Molokan driver noticed a Georgian smoking a pipe. The former began to admonish the latter to throw away the "infernal grass". The Georgian was insulted and asked the Molokan to keep quiet. The Molokan continued to paint a vivid picture of the sufferings in hell which smokers will have to endure. The impatient Georgian grabbed the whip out of the driver's hand and struck him. The Molokan driver straightened out, held his face ready for another lash of the whip and continued his sermon. The Georgian became furious and struck the willing victim until he lost consciousness. The Georgian was arrested. In court the Molokan pleaded with the judge to forgive the Georgian as Christ forgave the offenders.³

This group has succeeded in stating in rational terms the justification of their practices. The utilitarian argument plays a very large role in their thinking. There is considerably less of the mystical element than one would expect to find in a group which is so largely controlled by religion. This is illustrated in their food habits.

22. Our foods are simple but nourishing. We are hard working, simple folks, and need plain rather than fancy food. Food is for the sustenance of the body and for mere filling of your stomach... There are some articles of food which we do not use: fish without scales, lobster, crab, rabbits. . . . Pork, according to the Mosaic law is "unclean" . . . We kill beef in a certain prescribed manner. According to the Mosaic law cattle should be killed by especially trained people. We have our own slaughter houses and kill cattle with little pain and let the blood drain.⁴

We don't eat onions or garlic⁴ because both the roots and the tops bear fruit. Those are considered "unclean" vegetables. We use either the top like in cabbage, spinach, celery, or the roots, like potatoes, carrots, etc. (A Molokan man.)

23 The main meal is served in the evening, except on Sundays, which when not served at the church,

³ M. Villchur, Russians in America, 50. (Abstract.)

⁴ "Onions and garlic are avoided in order to be distinguished from the common Jewish people." Russian Encyclopedia. XIX, 645.

is served at noon. The meal is usually opened with a prayer said by the father or the elder, if present. The same seating arrangements were observed at the table as practiced at the church. The dining room has usually only a few chairs and two long wooden benches crudely put together. The meal as a rule opens with hot glasses of tea, stirred with varenie (Russian jam) and sipped from deep sauce dishes; raisins or prunes, large slices of bread and unsalted butter are served with the tea. Following this course a large dish of vegetable soup is set in the center of the table. This constitutes the common dish for the older members of the family. The soup is eaten from large wooden spoons of hardwood, beautifully varnished. Often times these spoons preserve their polish for over twenty years. Meat and vegetables are also served in a common dish. Raw fruit often constitutes the dessert.

When the meal is over the table-cloth is promptly changed. Thanks are returned, and where more than two men are present religious songs are sung before leaving the table. Compliments are promptly paid for the hospitality and the food enjoyed. (Personal observation by writer.)

Each cultural group tends to develop peculiar food preparations and combinations and acquires a taste for them which is transmitted through the culture from generation to generation. In peasant groups foods are justified but not rationalized in terms of health or food values. They have no germ theory of disease which would prevent eating out of a common dish. The process of eating is highly socialized, and many ceremonies are connected with eating and serving food. The foods they cannot eat, the "unclean" foods, play a more important role in their thinking than those used in the general diet. Their foods are ceremonially clean but not according to modern ideas of sanitation. Food with the peasant generally has many religious sanctions. The Molokan, however, does take a rational attitude which is valid within the limits of his experience; he has, however, thrown over the richer symbolism and food ritu-

als of the Orthodox peasants. It is interesting to note that the Molokane have been named not only from their religious practices - "Jumpers" - but their commonest name has grown out of their food habits "Milk-drinkers." The importance of what one eats can hardly be overestimated in the lives of such a people.

24. We do not divide our food into flesh or meat meals and fasts or "lent-meals" like the Greek-Russian Church. Our refusal to observe the numerous fasts, not less than one-third of the year, won the name "Molokane" for us. We don't object to this name. It shows one of the fundamental differences between us and the Russian Orthodox people. They abstain for weeks at a time during the great Lent periods and every Wednesday and Friday of each week from fish, meat, poultry, butter, milk, cheese, eggs and nourish themselves on vegetables and fruits. We work hard and wish to reserve a good deal of energy for the worship of our Lord who created all foods. (An elder.)

25. We hold fasts in the memory of the days of the sufferings of our Divine Teacher. On those days we eat or drink nothing and spend the days in prayer. . .

All the fasts imposed by the Greek-Russian Church we do not observe, especially those on Wednesday and Friday. Those who belong to our Church impose a voluntary fast whenever they find it necessary to repent or meditate over sinful thoughts. Such a fast lasts as long as the faster sees fit. We do not check personal liberty or regulate someone's else conscience.⁵

The life of the older generation in the Molokon colony is so thoroughly organised and systematized that the "individual's conscience" rarely needs to be regulated. Control through the mores extends to all details of their daily lives. "Righteous living" is the core of all activity, and shapes the destiny of the members. This is expressed in their attitude toward sickness, personal relations, government, school, etc.

26. Righteous living keeps you from all ills. Dur-

ing the recent plague epidemic (pneumonic), we were spared because we proved to be true worshippers of God and His Glory. With the outbreak of the disease, we prayed to our Lord and poured out our deepest convictions and beliefs. It is hard for us to dissociate sin from disease. Nature healed many a man. (A Molokan man).

27. We annoint sick people but attach no importance whatsoever to the unction itself. It is the prayer and righteousness that save the faithful. (An elder).

Reglementation of life of the Molokane is a product of religious conflict. Their attitude toward war, government, taxes, census, serve as illustrations of how the behavior of the group arises as a reaction to the conditions they have met. Each of those attitudes further indicates the philosophy of secterianism and illustrates the unifying force of a policy of isolation and aloofness.

28. The Lord is our spirit and where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty. (II Cor. 3:17). We don't need a separate political society. To us society and the gospel are the same. They are both founded on love, freedom and equality.

The Tzar is not a divine being. We are all equal by dispensation. How can human authority, whether royal or otherwise, force itself on other men, if all profess the teachings of Christ? God's law is the only law which must be obeyed. Democratic government recognizes equality and brotherhood of men, and thus is the rule by all for all. We cannot conceive of the Tzar as an all-powerful ruler. A royal crown does not glorify the ruler. (A Molokan man.)

29. In Russia we were subjected to the regular volost government, with the natchalnik (commander) at the head, and all the rest of the official machinery. But all this formal government never bothered us, and we had little use for it. Our civil court is vested in the church with God our judge, and the elders our arbitrators and advisors. All that government business pertained to the Orthodox. Men cannot rule other men. Our only ruler is God. 6

3
6 N.I. Kostomarov, in Notes on Fatherland, No.3, 1869, remarks:
"It is often said that the Molokane deny government; this is the popular idea about them. The Molokane themselves on this subject say: "We do not deny government, we consider it necessary

30. The officials used to come around to collect taxes, to maintain law and order among the different foreign nationalities in the Caucasus. They acted as policemen, draftboard officials, magistrates and judges. We abide by the law of God and get along pretty well with everybody. When the starshina (head of several villages) used to come around for taxes we told him that we had no money. He looked around, took the samovar, and if you hid that before he came he took a cow to cover a three ruble tax. (A Molokan man)

31. There is no moral obligation to pay taxes. God does not recognize any lordship over land. Our ancestors at first refused to pay taxes, but later found it expedient in order to avoid unnecessary squabbling with Orthodox officials. We pay taxes and pay them promptly, but there is no moral law to that effect.

32. As we conceive the word of the Holy Scriptures, God created the land for the benefit of all. Each family should have as much land as they can cultivate. Land is of unequal fertility, and some families were practically ruined by the high taxes, while others could meet them comfortably. The Tzar calls the soil "kazenni" (governmental). Does he have the right to appropriate it? We never derived any benefit of the tax collected. Whatever improvements were necessary on the land we were obliged to meet. Later on tax paying became more of a habit and we assumed it as a duty and in the order of things in this world.⁷

33. A true Christian must obey the Eternal law, inscribed by God on the tablets of our hearts. Laws are often unjust and are enforced to suit the wishes of the executives. We have felt no obligation to obey the law regarding fugitives. If they were found in our home they caused us penalties. We acted in accordance with St. Mathew 25:35: "I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty and ye gave me to drink, I was a stranger and ye took me in." These fugitives ran to save their lives from unjust and unmerciful officials. Their only crime which they committed was in obeying the Law of God as they saw fit and as our forefathers would have them do and feel,

to comply with it, fulfilling the sentence of the Holy Scriptures which command submission to the government." But they think it is not necessary to the government if their reason does not convince them of its superiority, or when the government demands the contrary to their conscience and the truth, and they point to the first Christians who were compelled to worship idols but refused to do so and thus saved their souls."

⁷ For a similar account see V. Bonch-Bruevitch, Materials for the History and Study of the Russian Sects, Book I, p. 11.

and not as the government ordered them to. (An elder)

33a. The Russian officials treat a Molokan like a dog, "dirty mujik". The gendarmes (police corporal) could kick us, slap our faces, call us vile names. Gendarmes have lots of power in Russia. They can come in raid your house, arrest you without warrant, and beat you up whenever they feel like it. Peasants cannot take advantage of public parks, beaches, etc. Once, I remember when I was a small boy, I peeked through a tiny hole in a circus tent. I was so engrossed in the circus that I did not remember anything about me. Suddenly I felt somebody pulling at my coat. I said: "Say don't bother me. Get out you . . .", at this I turned around and saw a gendarme. My heart stopped beating for a while as I looked at him. He called me a dog, a sneak and whew. . . he slapped my face. . . I fell down on the ground and did not come to for two or three hours. A peasant is low, very low in Russia. They oppress him, slander him, he has to get off the side walk when a policeman happens to pass by. I have never gotten over my feeling of fear and contempt for the Russian police. (A Molokan man.)

The Molokan ideal of government is theocratic. This is, of course, a very old widespread ideal. Probably at root it does not differ from the conception held by the Orthodox Russians, who regard the Tzar as annointed by God. But since the Molokans reject the theocracy of the Orthodox they thereby reject the Tzar, who in their eyes rules not by the will of God, but by force of arms. The Tzar represents Antichrist and not divine law. All sectarians have elaborated this view to a fine point. Their attitudes in regard to formal government hinge about the attempt to hold themselves accountable only to the Law of God, which, they believe, is written in the hearts of men. This belief is a basic element in their Spiritual Christianity. Law must be moral law, inner law. The Molokans thus have formulated in a crude way the Kantian moral law which is conceived as inherent in the universe, in the very nature of man. Their ideas are further strengthened and easily justified since they find many confirming passages in the sacred literature. Thus the Molokans

have been inevitably drawn into conflict with the Russian government. However, that conflict has taken the form of passive resistance, religious pacifism.

Principles of non-resistance, the "principles of peace"⁸ have been handed down to present day Molokane for many generations. Their ancestors, like many other religious sects, have attempted to "reproduce the life and spirit of the early Christian communities."⁹ Religious objection to war and military service is essentially a group phenomenon. It would be hard to find a more distinctly cultural as opposed to a psychological, attitude, or reaction type."¹⁰

The Molokane in their attempt to carry out the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," have not gone quite as far as their "twin sect," the Dukhobors, who are strict vegetarians, and do not even harness an animal for use in the field.¹¹

34. Man is created in the image of God. Therefore, any murder, no matter where and under what circumstances, is a sin against God, and no murderer has an eternal life. Only God, the Creator of heaven and earth, has the right of life and death over his people.

A man deserves death only when his actions are blasphemous to the name of God. But He alone shall judge his people, as he did during the flood, and at the extermination of Sodom and Gommora. But man must not judge so that he may not be judged.

A murderer cannot justify his actions on grounds of self-defense. Such an explanation is useless, for Christ said to Simon Peter: "Put your sword in your shield, for all those who raise the sword shall perish from it." And Jesus said: "Love your enemies." War among nations is madness.¹²

8 Clarence Marsh Case, Non-Violent Coercion, Chap. X "Psycho-Social of Non-Violent Resistants." Traits)

9 Ibid. 117

10 Ibid. 190

11 See Joseph Eltington, The Doukhobors; Their History in Russia and Migration to Canada.

12 Th. Livanov, ibid., 189-91, (Abstract.)

35. The Russian government had a complete machinery set up to regulate the lives and deaths of their subjects. They register the newly born, only to draft the males into the army at the age of 21 years. We refused to go to war, or enter military service, as "exercising the gun" and killing other men, whether they are our enemies or not, is the greatest sin in the world. "Thou shalt not kill." We abide by this commandment though it takes the last man in our community to defend it. During the Russian-Turkish war our ancestors were forced to enter the service, and some of them were even sent to the battle front, but they did not fight, and they had to be removed from the field because the general said they interfered with the discipline of other soldiers. Some were sent into noncombatant service, but most of us refuse to perform any kind of military service. War to us is the deadliest sin on earth, one nation fighting another nation, and one man killing another man. We take the Scriptural injunction literally: "And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." (Isaiah, 2:4.) (An elder.)

The religious thinking of the Molokane in a sense has been largely centered about the Holy Spirit and war. Refusal to go to war cannot be attributed to physical fear, since they have been subjected to many kinds of persecutions, even more to be feared. It can be thought of in terms of their set determination to escape from the control of the Orthodox. Their attitude toward war is further reinforced by the lack of a nationalistic sentiment among the Russian peasantry in general. Russian peasants are a highly provincial, and imperialistic ideas are quite foreign to them. The Orthodox mujik accepts the Tzar as God's earthly representative and is willing to fight when the Tzar orders him to do so. War with him is customary, and he has never reflected on the purpose or effectiveness of war. The Molokan has long ago discarded the idea that Tzar is divinely appointed, and looks upon war as an invention

of Antichrist. Moreover, he has been completely out of touch with current events of the Empire, and the causes which lead to warfare are quite unknown to him. He does not share in the feeling which precipitate fighting, and war has become to him a fantastic phenomenon. The mercenary soldier serves for pay, but the Molokan has no interest in war whatsoever. He must be driven to war like a slave.

The Molokan conception of war illustrates the literal-mindedness with which the group interpret the scriptural passages. The Bible is a guide for all activities of daily life, and in it they find solutions for current social and political problems. "Thou shalt not kill" is one such powerful determinant of group action.

Leroy-Beaulieu has indicated that Molokan self government succeeded in the Russian autocratic state because of the groups high religious ideals, their high morals, and the influence of elected chiefs or elders. Their discipline is due not to expert, scientific administration, but to the high moral ideals which are constantly aglow in the Molokan community. Their success in self government by this simple illiterate peasant group has created in them a sort of contempt for higher learning, especially since the energies of civilized "learned" nations have been so largely drained away into the creation and use of destructive military devices.

36. The schools breed infidelity, audacity. We are essentially an illiterate people, but God saved us from destruction. We don't believe in much worldly wisdom. We are more concerned about Spiritual wisdom. My father gave me a month and a half of instruction. Forty-five days in all. I bought books,

started to read the Bible in short time and am getting along pretty well. (An elder.)

37. We are not gentlemen; we are a peasant people. Why should our girls go to school? They can get all the education they need from their mothers. Experience and trial are the best teachers. (A Molokan man.)

The Molokane are not spurred on by the success motive, by social ambition, or by the desire for "material success" frequently met with in immigrant groups. They are a happy, contented, well-poised group with no institutions which are especially designed to promote the material progress of the group. Labor is not for material gain, outside of subsistence but labor has a moral and social compensation for the group. The chief purpose of work is to prevent the vices of leisure.

38. We are not gentlemen, and don't wish to be such. We recognize no ranks or titles, or social hierarchy. We are a hardworking, simple folk, and work with us is a religious duty. Work is natural and provides an honest livelihood, and keeps you out of idleness and mischief. Our fathers and forefathers toiled on the soil, but we must toil now as conditions permit. We believe in simple occupations, farming and cattle-raising being the noblest professions of all. When Christ called for help he chose the farmers, the shepherds, the fishermen, but not traders or the professionals. (An elder.)

39. The book of ceremonies of the Balashowski Molokane contains the following list of virtues and their significance:

1. Friend Truth; saves man from death.
2. Friend Purity; leads to God.
3. Friend Love; where is love there is God.
4. Friend Work; honor to the body and help to the soul.
5. Friend Obedience; sad road to salvation.
6. Friend Non-Condernation; without labor leads a man to salvation.
7. Friend Consideration; highest of all virtue.
8. Friend Prayer; unites man and God.
9. Friend Thanksgiving; the act of our Lord Christ.

- 10.. Friend Mercy; has influence even on Satan.
11. Friend Subjection; fulfilment of the Law.
12. Friend Penitence; God's Joy before the Angels about the sinner who repents.¹³

The Molokane have a definite predetermined behavior pattern by which members of the group are recognized. A Molokan may be identified not only by external brands, but by his language, his interpretation of the law, his attitudes and his whole philosophy of life. These internal brands are stamped on his very soul, and are transmitted from generation to generation in standardized form.

They have been a conflict group for many generations. In war each soldier wears a uniform. Only the spy has no mark of identification. The Molokane have stamped their brands on their members so that all may be properly identified. They take pride in their tradition, their folkways and mores. The pride with which these folkways, customs and mores are followed and obeyed, has engendered the feeling that makes the Molokane a brotherhood. This constitutes the esprit de corps of the group. Their ready willingness to live up to their traditions, suffer for them, subordinate themselves to the will of the group has produced an unusually high morale among the members of the group.

And only because of their high degree of organization they have been able to exist as a separate group; a state within a State, so to speak, while many other sects have died ou

¹³ Th. Livanov, ibid., 314.

CHAPTER IV
MOLOKAN RELIGION

Any object which has come within the experience of the group and has acquired a meaning for them is a social value. Social values may be abstract ideas as well as concrete objects. In the first category are included religion, truth, benevolence, loyalty; in the second-- a church, a hospital, a song, a coin, etc. The group has definite feelings or reactions toward values and tend to express these feelings in actions. The state of mind of the individual or the group toward the value is the attitude. Thus, for example, the struggle for religious freedom drove the Molokane to America. Their determination to follow long established traditions, their veneration for the teachings of Jesus, their contempt for the Russian Orthodox clergy, their belief that righteous living prevents disease, -- represent attitudes of the group.

We can measure the importance of social values by the amount of attention the group gives to them. Therefore, the significance of given social values may vary widely with different groups. The Orthodox peasant attaches great significance to fasting, while the Molokane consider it more or less an optional matter.

Social values and attitudes arise simultaneously. An object acquires meaning only through reaction to it. Hence, as soon as it secures meaning, or becomes a value for the

group, it becomes an object of activity, and an attitude arises. We separate these terms for theoretical purposes but in reality they describe co-existent aspects of a social situation.

Values differ not only in degree of importance with different groups, but the same object may arouse different reaction tendencies with different individuals. The ikon is an object of veneration for the Orthodox peasants, a positive social value; to the Molokane an ikon represents an idol and is a negative social value. The attitude determines the role the value is to play in the life of the people.

¹
W. I. Thomas says that the cause of a value or an attitude is never a value or an attitude alone, but always a combination of an attitude and a value. We may reason similarly that the result of an attitude or a value is never another attitude or a value alone but always a combination of these two factors. Thus religion is neither a product of attitudes or values alone, nor the expression of actions or institutions alone, but of both. And both the religious attitudes and the religious institutions exercise great influence upon the behavior of the whole group.

The sum total of the social values and attitudes of a group constitutes their social heritage. The representative institutions of the Molokane are the result of religious conflict, therefore, the attention of the group was chiefly drawn to the field of religion, and their chief heritages are religious.

¹
The Polish Peasant, I, 44.

The values and attitudes which have shaped the religious beliefs of the Molokane are a direct consequence of the contacts with Russian life since the time when Molokanism became a separate creed.

40. All our beliefs can be found in this book (pointing to the Bible): Help the needy; work with your hands, producing something useful so that you can share it with the needy. Be kind to your fellowmen, do not oppress the poor. God himself commands this. Feed the hungry, satisfy the thirsty,² clothe the naked, visit the sick and the prisoners.

41. Those who know God love Him for God is love, and who loves God fulfills the law. Through love serve one another. The whole law is embodied in one word; love your neighbor as yourself. When we fulfill God's³ will there is no fear, and fear is torture. . . .

However, such epigrammatic attempts to summarize the Molokan doctrines are not wholly satisfactory even to the Molokane themselves. There have been two attempts to codify the doctrine. Once at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1865⁴ and again at Astrahanka in 1905. The latter Congress drew up the following statement which was published under the title Foundations of the Molokane Doctrine:⁵

42. "God is Good. Evil has no independent existence, but is merely the negation of God. God is not a

² Th. Livanov, Dissenters and Offenders, II, 179.

³ Ibid., 201

⁴ The document published at Geneva is known as The Confessions of Faith of the Spiritual Christians, commonly called Molokane. A brief outline of this work will be given in the Appendix.

⁵ A part of this statement is embodied in the earlier work, The Confessions of Faith.

Very few Molokane possess a copy of this publication. Its existence is interesting, however, because of its date.

trinity but a unity, and the apparently trinitarian formula of Mt. 28:19 simply sets forth the one God in His three-fold relationship to the world and man. The innocence of the first man considered in his ignorance of evil and good alike, in which he resembled the animals, whereas the innocence of Christ was a conscious and voluntary righteousness. Thus the Fall, although it resulted in man's loss of communion with God, was in reality a step forward, (and man, having become like God in the knowledge of good and evil, has now to win that communion by his own efforts (Mt 11:12). But, while God has left man free to do either good or evil, it is the latter that is mainly preferred by him (Eph. 2:1f.); he feels that God is alien to him and that His law is coercive and hard to obey. He violates it constantly, and thus regards God as his incensed Lord, who is to be propitiated by sacrifice. In the fullness of time, however, Christ came, and revealed to us our nearness to God; called God Father and spoke of us as His children (Jn 20:17, Rom. 8:14); changed the covenant of fear into the covenant of love (Rom. 8:15, He. 2:14f.), so that goodness comes to have a meaning for us, and the law of compulsion becomes the law of liberty (Gal.4:1). He thus showed us the way to blessedness, and sealed His word with His death on the Cross. The Church which He founded is the community of those who believe in God; and in virtue of that belief all members of the Church are equal, so that the hierarchy of the Graeco-Russian Church has no standing in it. The presbyters or bishops (

("overseers") appointed by the "spiritual Christians" are not priests, but merely the servants of the ordinary members, and receive no remuneration for their voluntary labours. Christ instituted no visible sacraments, not even Baptism or the Lord's Supper, and the NT passages upon which these two sacraments are said to be founded are to be interpreted spiritually, i. e. as referring to the initial and continued apprehension of God's word; the Church's practice of fasting must also be wholly discarded.

We do not use the sign of the cross, for we regard it as quite uncalled for. All that it does is to tire the hands, whereas Christ has bidden us endure the spiritual cross, i. e. the sufferings appointed to us.

The Sabbath was given for relaxation and divine worship; but good works may be done on the Sabbath, as appears from the example of Christ in contrast to the Pharisaic hallowing of the Day (Mt. 12:4-13). It is specially necessary, however, to refrain on that day from evil deeds, unchastity, and drunkenness (Eph. 5:18f.). As, in conformity with the witness of Holy Writ, the first day after the Saturday is kept sacred in place of the Sabbath by Christians of all creeds in commemoration of Christ's resurrection, we likewise do this.

We recognize only the tradition given in the Holy Scriptures -- not the traditions and writings of the Fathers of the Graeco-Russian Church (Rom. 1:22), or the multitude of ceremonies in which its worship consists, for man should worship God in spirit and in truth (Jn. 4:24).

In our assemblies the worship of God begins with the Lord's Prayer, spoken by the presbyter. Then follows the reading of Scripture, the presbyter reading the verse, the congregation then singing it, and this is continued for several hours. Thereafter begins common prayer, which the presbyter recites while the congregation kneels (Lk. 22:41, Ac. 20:36), and the service closes with the singing of psalms. Our worship of God takes place in our own houses; for we do not think that a building can give sanctity to an assembly; it is rather the assembly that sanctifies any place where it is held. The Ten Commandments must still be obeyed, for Christ did not abrogate them (Mt. 5:17f.). Hence God alone is to be worshipped. Nowhere does Scripture authorize the worship of any besides Him -- not even of the Apostles of Christ, though they wrought miracles, or of the angels (Ac. 10:25f., Rev. 22:8f.); and if not the former while they were still alive, all the less now when they are dead; while if not the latter, then all the less the so-called saints. In conformity with the 2nd Commandment, we have no images or icons. When the Graeco-Russian Church puts forward the plea that it does not worship the images themselves, but the holy men portrayed by them, the defence is quite invalid, for in that case the images would all be regarded as of equal worth, or, at most, those which show the best painting and the most accurate representation would be the more highly prized, while, in point of fact, it is the badly painted, old, and grimy ones that are preferred. The worship of saints' images, said not to have been made by

hand of man but to have come into existence miraculously, is commanded on pain of anathema. We simply do not believe that there are such things at all, for God is Spirit and not man, and would not therefore concern Himself with the making of idols, and the less so because He even forbids men to do it. The worship of images is prohibited by Holy Writ in its entirety (Ac. 17: 29, 1 Co. 10:7, Ps. 115:4-8 134(135)15-18, Wis. 13:9-19 14:8-17, Ep. of Jer. 3-12, Rev. 9:20). The worship of human corpses conflicts with Gn. 3:19. Even if the body in which Christ the Saviour passed His earthly life had by chance been preserved, we would not worship it, for we revere Christ for His divine spirit and understanding, and not for His perishable body, even were it turned to stone.

The 2nd (3rd) Commandment forbids oaths of all kinds, and the 5th (6th) includes the prohibition of war and capital punishment. Marriage was instituted by God Himself (Gen. 2:18-22 1:28 2:23f., Mt 19:3-9), and God is likewise the source of the ordinances relating to those with whom sexual intercourse is not to take place (Lv. 18:6-18 22f. 29f., Sir 9:3-9 23:22-27, 1 Co. 6:15-20). Our mode of contracting marriages we take from To. 7:10. After the parents have given their blessing, Ps. 113 (114) is sung, and a prayer recited. The bridal pair then express their mutual consent, promise to be faithful to each other, and not to separate (1 Co. 7:10f.). Thereafter To. 8:5f. and Eph. 5:22-23 are read. The ceremony closes with an exhortation to the married pair, and then Ps. 132 (133) is

sung by all present. Although Christ Himself remained unmarried, He did not regard many as being capable of this, and therefore never urged it upon His disciples.

Monasticism has against it both Scripture (Mt. 19:12, 1 Co. 7:1f.) and the example of Christ. If monks and nuns seclude themselves in convents in order to engage in the worship of images, God punishes them by abandoning them to unchaste conduct (Ro. 1:24, 26f.).

We believe in the resurrection of the dead and in a life to come (according to Mk. 12:26f., 2 Co. 5:1, Ps. 55:17-19, Mt. 24:30, Jn. 5:28f, Rev. 20:12-15, Ac. 24:15), and accordingly we pray that their sins may be forgiven them (2 Mac. 12:44f.). When a member of our community dies, we pray and sing Ps. 23 (24) and 145 (146), and, at the funeral, Ps. 83 (84), and in conformity with Ac. 8:2, Sir. 38:16f.23."⁶

A constant emphasis of the spiritual elements of religion is the distinguishing characteristic of the Molokan religion. This lends a generality and vagueness to their doctrines which has been noted by such writers as Livanov, Conybeare and others. Livanov has set forth in great detail the doctrines of the Molokane in various provinces in the Russian Empire. These doctrines vary somewhat in the interpretations used by the various Molokan communities in Russia. But many of these doctrines have

⁶ Quoted in James Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, II, 340 ff.

suffered little change with time and age. The older people cling tenaciously to the doctrines, rituals, and customs as they have been handed down to them by their fathers.

The Molokane hold aloof from other sects because the latter are not "Spiritual". Other sects generally do not accept the "inner light" or the "inspiration of the Holy Ghost" as the authority in matters of faith. The Molokane say:

44. We worship with His Holy Spirit, and when our Father wants to communicate with us he bestows the Holy Spirit upon us and we speak with tongues. (An elder.)

Uplifted by a sense of the presence of the Holy Ghost the Molokane fall into ecstatic trances. The following documents show the characteristic form of behavior of the Molokane during religious ecstasy. It has won for them the name "Jumpers", which they have accepted and apply frequently to themselves.

Sunday Morning Services.

45. The order of services was extremely simple. Alternate singing and scripture reading occupied the first half of the program; taking the collection, making of special prayers and giving the kiss of brotherly love and forgiveness constituted the second half.

The music was a peculiar chant with a very distinct rhythm and clearly distinguishable refrains. The selections were very long to one accustomed to Protestant songs. One member, sitting in the front row of the choir, evidently was looked to in starting off the tune since at the beginning of each verse he sang a brief prelude of half a dozen notes. Directly opposite him, was one of the congregation who sat close to the table; he would call out a line of the

song (later learned to be a line of a psalm); the leading singer would catch his note even before the reader had reached the end of the line and soon the entire congregation was singing with a depth of tone and fullness of expression which left the listener in no doubt as to the depth of meaning which they found in the chant. The music was simple, a mere humming with little attempt to enunciate words, the voices were untrained, the men's voices predominating and there was no musical instrument, yet the full effect of the singing was at points almost overpowering.

Indeed, at one point in the second song, a woman in the second row who could easily be seen, seemed to be entirely overcome by it. Suddenly she stretched her outspread hand above her head and somewhat to the front. Her eyes partly closed and an ecstatic look spread over her countenance. The lips filled and softened and her face flushed redly. The outstretched arms trembled slightly after a few moments, her head rolled somewhat and she seemed on the point of falling. The pose was kept while the song went on for a few verses, increasing meantime in intensity. Then she dropped her arms suddenly and in turn kissed three or four of the women seated in the row before her. No attention was paid to this demonstration and she finally sank back, sobbing, into her seat. Throughout the service she seemed especially stirred but did not repeat the scene. Other women were apparently affected, to judge from their faces, but none duplicated her behavior.

The following are excerpts from The Sectarian World in which the author reports the nature of ecstatic behavior observed by him in a Russian village during a Molokan gathering.

46. It is impossible to understand the words of their songs. The motives were worked out many years ago by the people during the Raskol. They were persecuted by the Orthodox authorities for singing the psalms. The Molokane like the Doukhobors sing the psalms like a "song without words," but they repeat in their minds the words of the psalms. Times have changed but the motives were not affected. They are so conservative that

6 See pp. 160-62 of this thesis for music of Molokan songs. See also page 106.

they have outlived all changes and splits within their own communities.⁷

47. Our songs have changed. We used to sing so our hearts would cry, and we would drown our joys and sorrows in our tears, but now we sing, and the songs elevate you, carry you off some place, as if calling for sacrifice of self, to perform a great deed; and you become hardened, tempered and there is nothing on earth that could not be accomplished for the glory of Zion. And we have the songs that make you meditate. You sing and your thoughts fly, and while singing you look around on your own life and on those of others, and you go further and deeper and you land no one knows where. The song is finished, you look around and you are home. What is the matter? Where were you? What did you see? What did you hear? That is what we call "thought": Swifter than lightning: Wider than the world: Deeper than the skies: And that is why we esteem "thought" as our own soul, and our souls dwell in pure, absolute reason. The man in whom the thought is awakened, start to work, is newly born, is christened by the thought and is hardened in the quality of a real man.

And elevating songs, contagious through their animation, continued without end. And a rumor spread everywhere that the songs grip one by the heart and it is impossible to avoid them. And once you heard the song, it will remain in your ears, and whether you are asleep or awake it will remain with you. The people came from all around asking for the "heavenly songs."⁸

48. Suddenly the song burst forth more forceably, just as if it had brought everybody under its influence; the tones rang out and swelled loudly, and she (the woman) slightly swinging her body, as if pronouncing the blessing, closed her eyes, bent her head wearily, sang softly, wavered, slightly shuddered, and gradually began to raise her hands to heaven, higher and higher, and it seemed that her hands were growing, those helpless, shaking hands were growing out of her, and rose and sanctified, and blessed. And the song was coming forth from the very depths of human hearts, swelling, voices

⁷ V. Bonch-Bruevitch, From the Sectarian World, 63.

⁸ V. Bonch-Bruevitch, From the Sectarian World, 99-100.

(Abstract.)

Overtaking each other, embracing each other, and the verses combined and flew uninteruptedly, like the waves of the tumbling sea. And she moved round and round, languid, wearily, praying. Her shining face is quiet, restful, kind, peacefully and charmingly happy. The song grows calmer, the tones fall, less frequent and quieter, quieter and less frequent, and finally die away. Complete silence. Everything is dead and deserted. And as if drunk with magic charm in infusion of the Holy Ghost, weakened, tired, she fell as if cut down, into the arms of her sisters and brothers. Tenderly and carefully she was taken away, they almost carried her, and everybody wished to help her, caress, fondle, serve her, touch her. And she, fatigued, look-around with her black eyes and her look grew dim, as if from a passing cloud. . . With an exquisite gesture of her hand she arranged the tufts of her disheveled hair and looked upon everyone so kindly, tenderly, faintly smiling, quite happy and joyful.

The meal was finished, and the songs ended. The entire crowd left the pavillion and went out the street lighting their way with torches. They walked along, and the songs started anew.. They sang as they walked with their hands above their heads. They shook heaven and earth with their songs of victory, their exclamation and shoutings to "Holy Zion", of the new life of the new earth. Here and there stepped forth the more deeply stirred persons, and they circled like a whirlwind in the holy dance.

Illuminated by the bright light of a flashed torch, a stout man stepped out. He bowed to everyone, threw his head slightly back, held his hands in the belt of his waist, he jumped lightly, high, softly, as if something carried him; hardly touching the floor he jumped high and sang unceasingly. And another man threw his arms up, and also jumped lightly and freely, and the whole crowd and the whole community, raised the hands. Suddenly a woman appeared, good looking and stately. Like a ballerina she fluttered up and down, again and again and sang with a clear soft voice.

The pair almost glided through the air. They suddenly embraced, holding each other tightly, winding themselves around, ascending and descending frequently and fast. Everything became quiet. They stopped. In a minute a circle was formed and by the light of the torches pair after pair rose and sank freely and it seemed there would be no end to this mighty holy dance.

It must not be assumed, however, that this conduct proves them irrational. The religious content of the ceremonies is very much like that of the Western world. While the ritual may be strange to the Protestant, yet the religious conceptions and terminology are quite familiar. This can be explained in part by the fact that both are based on the same Sacred Book.

The following songs and prayers indicate something of this similarity.

Song

49. And there was a great multitude of people everywhere that no man could count, of every language, race and tribe, standing before the Throne and before the Lamb, dressed in white, holding palm branches and singing with a loud voice,--salvation to Him who sitteth on the Throne of our God and the Lamb, to Whom be blessing, glory, wisdom, praises, honor and power--to our God forever (bowing) Amen. 10

PRAYER

50. O, Jesus, thou most precious Lamb of God, who art the Lord of all because Thou art the only Redeemer and Judge of all the sins and unrighteousness of Thy people,--the Leader of all whom Thou hast foreordained from the foundation of the world, and in eternal union with Thee; and for this Thou hast made them to know Thee and Thy wisdom of prophecy, and hast given them an understanding of Thy wonders which Thou workest unceasingly and always through Thine own Holy Spirit, working individually in Thy servants, men and women,-- whereby we become Thy chosen people, gathered in Thy fold forevermore, from all generations; and to this end we await none other for our redemption and salvation from our sins; wherefore do we make supplication unto Thee, O, Lord, to wash away our sins with the blood of

Thy Love, and to clothe us in the white garments of Thy Holiness; each one of us, of the multitudes of Thy people, with a palm branch in hand; and give us a place around Thy Throne in service to God, Thy Father and our Father; and grant that He may wipe away our tears even while here on this earth, where we are so tenderly watched over, like the lambs in the field of Surmagdan, and where Thou, O, Lord, wilt freely establish Thy spiritual kingdom on earth for ages, giving unto those that thirst after Thy blessings, drink from the wells of living waters. Amen! 11

SONG

51. And I saw a mighty angel coming down from heaven, clothed in a cloud, with a rainbow about his head. His face was as bright as the sun and his feet were shod with fire, like pillars of flame. He through which we shall all rise and become changed at the last day, to live forevermore, for Thy Holy Spirit shall abide in us throughout all eternity.-- Amen! in truth, Amen! 12

SONG

52. Grace and peace be unto you for the present and the past, from the seven spirits before His throne and from Jesus Christ, the true witness, the first risen from the dead, the Prince of all earthly kings, who loved us and washed away our sins with his own blood and made us kings and elders before God, His Father. To Him be the power and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.. 13

PRAYER

53. O, Jesus, thou precious Lamb of God, Lord of all of us, servants of Thine in Thy Spirit--the newly-established Israel, the holy

- 11 Sacred Prayer Book and Rituals, 7-8.
 12 Ibid, 8-5.
 13 Ibid, 5.

holy, ones of the King--praying unto Thee, O, Lord, face to face, all Thy people the members of Zion, receiving from Thee in every heart, the gracious influence and wisdom of the Holy Spirit, the same plainly witnessing to the whole congregation in Thy name the new prophecy, as proceeding from the mouth of one having Thine own similitude; wherefore shall we all know Thee, and that Thou art He who is always with us in Spirit, walking in our midst as a shepherd with his flock, guarding us always from every evil. So do we have Trust in Thee, our Redeemer, and Intercessor, believing that Thou alone art endued with power from on high, holding the keys of death and hell, causing us to rise from the dead and be quickened unto new life, both soul and body, transfused with Thy Holy Spirit, which at the second coming into this world will gather all of us then alive, into one place at the Holy Camp and beloved city, forever and ever. Amen, in truth, Amen.. 14

SONG

54. Thou art worthy to take and open the book and remove the seal, for Thou hast purchased us with Thy precious blood, from every race and language, people and tribe, soever; and Thou hast created our leaders, the kings and elders, installing them here on earth. We give praises unto Thee, the One that sittest on the Throne, rendering unto the Lamb of God exaltation and praises and glory forever and ever. Amen..
(Bowling reverently) 15

The Molokane set themselves off from the Orthodox not only by their manifestations of the Holy Ghost but also by their great emphasis upon the Spiritual nature of God. The following passage from their own book, Spirit and Life is an illustration in point:

55. They (the Molokan ancestors) were followers of the true faith of the Almighty, Eternal and Omnipotent God, who dwells in every living being and not in dead, wooden, stone, or other images made artificially by human hands, the design and invention of the human mind. 16 They explained that everything made by human artifice from physical matter is

14 Sacred Prayer Book and Rituals, 5-6.

15 Spirit and Life. 6.

not divine but human invention, in accordance with the teaching of the Devil and Satan; that worshipping such soulless, material images, crosses, ikons and idols is the greatest sin in the world subject to the severest punishment of God, who is the real Creator of Heaven and Earth. 16

The Molokan sees in the sacred objects of the Orthodox perversions of the Deity. To him they are literally idols.

"Ikons are not even Pravoslavie, (orthodox-worship) they are dravoslavie (wood-worship)."

The spiritual element as well as the unifying affect of the Molokan conception of God is further revealed in this passage:

56. God is Spirit and should be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth. (John 4:24). We should turn to our God with love, without fear, for He is our Father. We must concern ourselves about His Glory and His Kingdom. We pray our Lord not to send us temptations above our power and to save us from temptations. We must pray our God not only to save us, but to save all people, for in the Lord's prayer it does not say "save me", but "save us". 17

The document below shows how far the Molokane have gone in elaborating their religious thinking and practices into a distinct system. They think of themselves as being the opposite pole from the Orthodox. By no possibility could a Molokan be confused with an Orthodox believer. They take pride in the fact that they have been able to establish an isolated, distinct religious community.

16 Spirit and Life, 7. A similar account of beliefs held by the Molokane is described by Th. Livanov, ibid., in an article "The Stumbling Blocks (Ikons)", II, 196-98.

17 Th. Livanov, ibid., 195-6 (abstract).

57. We reject the traditional Trinitarian doctrine: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are only titles of God which mark different aspects from which we contemplate Him, without losing sight of His unity as the Creator of man and Earth, as Life and Spirit of the Universe, as the True Spirit by which he reveals Himself to us.¹⁸

The religion of the Molokane, while it is a brand of Christianity, has been formed, developed, and recast in accordance with the conditions and events of the times. It has evolved out of Molokan consciousness. It has been organized to meet crises, to maintain confidence, and to give power to carry on the "battle of the Lord." In the effort to isolate themselves from the Orthodox believers, their most hostile opponents, they threw their energies and activities into their own religious and social organizations, kept them alive at all costs and thus preserved their dominant traits. They developed religious and social autonomy almost from the very origin of their sect. Their conceptions of the sacraments and the functions of the Church are especially significant for the understanding of their social organization.

58. Church and society are one and should not be separated. The people are the Church, not the building. Christ never erected a building of brick and mortar in which to worship God. "Where two or three men are gathered together in My name, there I am in the midst of them." We have no church buildings, but hold our services in the ordinary houses. We attach a reverence to our homes which makes home-life sacred to us. And besides God needs no temple, except the heart of man. "Ye are the temple of God." (An elder.)

¹⁸ Confessions of Faith, translated by F.C. Conybeare, ibid., 295.

59. The Russian Church is completely ignorant of God's world; it does not recognize the Holy Ghost but depends on rules and regulations of the oecumenical council which he (Rudometkin) absolutely denies,¹⁹ because they are contrivances of the human mind and not of God's Holy Will. The Russian Church reveals all the tyranny, the weak and the false Christian dogmas, which they call Church; a church with a woman sitting on a purple beast with blasphemous names, drunk with the blood of the divine sufferers.²⁰

60. Our church is a community of the believers in God. . . Jesus is the only priest of the church. . . Just as there is one body with many members, there is Christ with many members. Jesus and the Holy Scriptures are the only foundations on which the true Christian Church rests. A society which is not founded on the teachings of Jesus is not a true Church, for none can establish a church except Christ. There is one body, one spirit. . . one God, one faith, one christening, one Father of all and in all of us.²¹

The Molokane deny all sacraments. This fact undoubtedly added greatly to the moral efficiency and increased the social values of their religious practices. The denial of the sacraments has created the greatest chasm between the Russian Orthodox and the Molokan churches. The Russian Church recognizes Baptism only by threefold immersion. Confirmation is considered a "mystery" by the Orthodox Church who call it Chrismation or extreme Unction. "The Holy Chrism is prepared for

¹⁹ "The Molokane believe that the Church established by Jesus Christ endured only until the Fourth century. The oecumenical council and the church fathers have departed from true Christianity in their decisions and writings, they have canonized mere traditions and organized a hierarchy. The Molokane believing themselves the true representatives of Biblical Christianity, do not acknowledge any such extraordinary divine capacity in the church fathers." Russian Encyclopedia, Art. "Molokane" XIX, 644.

²⁰ Spirit and Life, 315 (?)

²¹ Th. Livanov, ibid., 181. (Abstract.)

the whole Empire. . . all kettles and vessels used are of solid silver."²² The ceremony, highly solemn, takes place in a great religious metropolis, such as Moscow, Kiev or Vilna. The sacrament of confession, especially with the common folks, proceeds as follows: the priest puts two rapid questions to the mujik: 'Hast thou stolen? Hast thou drunk?' To which the mujik, with a profound salutation: 'I have sinned, father.' Such an answer to two rapidly put questions generally suffices to ensure absolution."²³

61. In the Russian Church religious practices are valueless ceremonies. The Law orders all Orthodox people to receive the sacraments at least once a year. This is a device to enforce loyalty to the Tzar on all of his subjects.²⁴ It is to the priest's advantage to impose these sacraments because he is paid for all services rendered. We, Molokane, dispense with every kind of formalism so characteristic of the Russian Church. By such practices they simply succeed in stripping religion of all the spiritual elements. We deny all the sacraments²⁵ because the word means "tainstvo", that is, mystery or secret for those who don't know God's word. Baptism and Eucharist, Communion and Confession, are not practiced by us as a secret cult. We refuse to baptise with water because St. John said: "Ye shall be baptised in the Holy Spirit." And when Jesus spoke of Baptism He only meant the "living water" the word of God. We take the Scriptural injunction literally: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe everything I have commanded, for there is nothing secret which cannot be revealed." . . .

²² Leroy-Beaulieu, op. cit., 129.

²³ Ibid., 134.

²⁴ The Russian Code actually prescribes sacraments for all Orthodox people.

²⁵ "The Molokane believe that these outward signs were meant only as a means for better singling out the early Christians from the heathen population by which they were surrounded. Now that Christianity has become an inherited creed, professed by entire nations, there is no further need for these outward distinctions." S. Stepniak, op. cit., 539.

And what can Baptism with water accomplish? Can it save the soul? Can it prevent evil thoughts and deeds? Can a man who has been baptized escape punishment for his wrong acts? Baptism cannot enlighten a man as to God's commandments. (An elder.)

62. We, who believe in the Baptism of the word of God, and fulfill all His commandments are baptised spiritually; "the living waters," the "word of God" remains with us throughout life and restrains us from evil deeds. Likewise we believe that communion consists in reading of His word and meditating over it. We get together and ponder over this Book of eternal wisdom. (An elder.)

63. Our elders receive confession from the members, but these confessions are purely voluntary. The confession is open, but no one is supposed to listen in. The confessee talks of his own free will, and lets his conscience be his guide. Our elders do not question, they simply pray and inspire us to prayer. We hold with Paul, "Confess your sins to one another and pray for one another." . . . (A young married woman.)

64. Neither do we recognize sacrament in marriage. Only God can sanctify a Holy marriage. Where there is Love and Harmony between husband and wife there is sacrament. (An elder.)

65. Conjugal relations were established by God Himself during man's existence in Eden. God said: Be fruitful and multiply. But marriage should not be only a physical union, there must be a spiritual bond of love and affection. The sacrament of the church is not able to insure such a bond. When love is gone the bond is broken irrespective of the church performance. (An elder.)²⁶

26 An account of the services observed during marriage ceremonies, christening, burial, church services etc. will be presented in the section on Molokan Ritualism.

A discussion of the rites and ceremonies will be found in the chapter on Molokan Familial and Economic Organization.

For a fuller account of Molokan rituals, prayers and songs, see Sacred Prayerbook and Rituals, and Spirit and Life, passim.

Since the Molokane are a rationalistic sect, they have made many attempts to get rid of secret rites, "mysteries". Sacrament to the Molokane means magic. There is evidence, however, that the attempt was not wholly successful, and that there is a tendency to revert to magic and mysticism. The reason for this tendency has been stated thus: "Magic and religion belong to the same department of human experience—one of the two great departments, the two worlds one might almost call them, into which human experience, throughout its whole history has been divided. Together they belong to the supernatural world, the x-region of experience, the re-
²⁷gion of mutual twilight." The evidences of magic creep-

ing into the Molokan teachings are best illustrated here:

66. An Elias appeared among them in 1833 in the person of Terence Byelozorov of Melitopol, who even foretold the very day on which the expiration of two and a half years Elias would, as the apocalyptic story required, reascend to heaven. Crowds duly collected to witness the miracle, and the prophet with desperate leaping and waving of his arms attempted, like Simon Magus and Saint Peter, to take to the air. But earth chained his specific gravity, and the Russian officials his further freedom, and he was locked up until such time as he should forget his apocalyptic privileges.²⁸

67. In 1836 there appeared a false Christ, Lukian Petrov, who induced them to leave their work and, dressed in their best clothes, to go with him to the promised land, Caucasus, where the millennium would begin. He affirmed his teachings by so-called miracles, for instance, resurrecting several girls whom he persuaded to pretend death. After this two more false Christs appeared in the province of Samara.²⁹

²⁷ R.R. Marrett, Anthropology, p. 206, quoted in C.M. Case, Outlines of Introductory Sociology, p.381.

²⁸ Also referred to as Victorious Song, Russian Enc. XIX, 644.

²⁹ F.C. Conybeare, op. cit., 322-23.

Gregor Alexinski, Russian writer, refers to the time when these prophets appeared as "extremely grievous." This was during the reign of Alexander II, shortly before the liberation of the peasants. The Tzar's harsh measures made the position of the sectarians almost unendurable. They were waiting then for the Savior who would lead all "good" men to "the land of milk and honey", in the neighborhood of Mount Ararat. Until this day the Molokane in Los Angeles cherish a secret dream of settling near Mt. Ararat. Several delegates were recently sent to Russia, Turkey, Mesopotamia, Persia, Urmia, in order to investigate the advisability of settling in those countries.

68. It was prophecied by our people that we would finally settle in the region of Mt. Ararat, somewhere between the Rivers of Tigris and Euphrates. There peace and righteousness shall prevail. (A Molokan man.)

J.H. T. Main, President of Grinnell College, reports:

69. After my return to this country, I spoke to the Molokane in Los Angeles. That was late in 1919. They were anxious to return to Southern Russia and wanted my opinion. I advised them strongly against it. My advice was received in friendly spirit but it was not the kind of advice they wanted. They wanted to return to Russia, and the opinion that it would not be wise led to much weeping and lamentation.³⁰

Haxthausen's descriptions of Mt. Ararat may throw further light upon why this region was chosen for the religious perfection of the group.

70. With the exception of Judea, the central point of interest in the world's history, no region is more important in the records of mankind than that of the country around

³⁰ In a personal letter to writer.

Mount Ararat. The naturalist here discovers traces of wide deluge, in which pre-existing forms of animal and vegetable life were destroyed; and the traditions of all civilized nations record the story of the Flood. . . I think anyone who has seen Ararat, the "holy mountain" the most imposing which it is possible for the imagination to conceive, must have shared the feeling which forced itself upon my mind upon beholding it, that this alone could have been the summit upon which the ark, the cradle of the new race of men, grounded and remained.³¹

Molokanism has gone through various stages of the craving for religious perfection. "Prophets," "Holy Spirits," and "Apostles" followed each other in rapid succession, all trying to gain domination over religious followers, under guise or otherwise, of saving their souls. The Molokane are armed, as it were, with a religion which makes all tasks easy to endure, gives life a purpose and produces qualities essential to a system which is to survive.

The Molokan doctrines are fairly original. As it has been already indicated elsewhere, ³² as a sect splitting from the Russian Church, they deny many doctrines and rituals which are supported by the latter. Even the Molokane and the Dukhobors, often referred to as "twin" sects, show many important differences. It is commonly agreed that the Dukhobors concern themselves greatly with theosophy and cosmogony, teachings entirely foreign to the Molokane. The former consider the Bible the "dead book" and depend entirely on memorizing the Scriptures, that is, they use the "living word." All religious gatherings are held out-of-doors and in their services they make use of

¹ Baron Von Haxthausen, Transcaucasia, Author's Preface,
² See "Exercus on Raskol," p.XI

the old Slavonic tongue for prayers and songs. Even small children are expected to memorize passages in the Bible and pray and sing in the Old Slavonic. It is beyond the limits of this study to present a full comparison, but many points of difference have been noted from the various Russian sects. ³³

The Molokane have always been looked upon as quite superior to any of their rural neighbors. Orthodoxy to the Russian mujik (peasant) means "to be baptised, to wear a cross around his neck, or a holy image, to pray to the most Immaculate Virgin, and to all the saints, pictured by the images and relics; not to work on holidays; to fast according to tradition; to venerate Bishops; to go to sacraments and Divine Service." ³⁴

71. The Molokane in comparison with the Russian mujiks are "venerable Christians," polished, well informed persons, taking personal initiative in matters of religion as well as in social life. The very fact that the Molokane have crossed the boundary line, making a journey to the New World shows the tenacity of their religious convictions and their determination to transplant their culture, unchanged, unmodified, unmolested by Russian officials and clergy. A mujik when he heard the noise of a train, the shrieking whistle of the steam engine, crossed himself twice and asked God to deliver him from the evil spirit. (A Jewish neighbor of the Molokane in Russia.)

What religion has done for the Mujik who became Molokan, years of education and propoganda probably would have been unable to accomplish. They were changed from the "squalid, shiftless, ignorant, lazy" individuals living for the most part in blighted impoverishment, to industrious, informed, clean, honest, dignified, self-respecting persons with a high sense of

³³ The best known accounts of the Dukhobors, Molokane and other sects are those given by Leroy-Beaulieu, Conybeare, Bonch-Bruevitch and particularly by Th. Livanov.

³⁴ M. Baring, op. cit., 355.

their moral worth, and with an ardent desire to live a better life. This transformation has created an ethnocentricity in the group which is a further factor in group unity and in the growth of social consciousness.

72. Mind you, the Tzar was dethroned, kings fell, forts were destroyed, towns were burnt to ashes, cities were ruined, hundreds and thousands of people lost their lives during the World War, and we, a simple illiterate people, were saved. We abided by the wish of the Holy Ghost and He delivered us from all suffering. (An elder)

His rural neighbor, the Orthodox Russian mujik, has not yet emerged from his lethargy, lack of initiative, and almost complete absence of social consciousness. "He is inclined to be rather lazy, or else he is so slow that the term laziness does not seem misplaced. . . Drunkenness has been the besetting sin of the peasants of Central Russia. . . Vodka (whiskey) drinking has been a frightful curse, and the peasants have suffered greatly from it. . . If the Orthodox Church could make the peasants refrain from excessive drinking of vodka, as successfully as it does the use of animal food during the numerous fast periods, it would confirm an inestimable benefit upon the peasantry. But the average ³⁵ priesthood is unfit for such a task."

The Molokane, it seems, are almost physiologically reconstructed. They have long since discovered that certain practices would undermine the integrity of the group. Such practices were outlawed.

³⁵ N.O. Winter, op. cit., 234-35.

The Molokan group illustrates well how important a factor dissent is in the democratization of religion among the masses. The Molokane do not delegate their religion to the Church. They hold themselves personally accountable for their acts. They have come through the religious ferment of Russian peasantry a unified group, through the process of rebellion against established principles and doctrines. They rejected the old principles, but instituted new principles and have held to them with the inflexible logic of the Russian sectarian.

The religion of the Molokane has been beneficial to the social welfare of the group and at the same time has checked its progress because of its rigidly inflexible character, and because of the violent persecutions which have kept them an isolated group.

"The sect is a crowd, picked and permanent; . . . the sect is a chronic kind of a crowd. The crowd is composed of multitudes of grains of sand without cohesion; the sect is a block of marble which resists every effort. When a sentiment or an idea, having in itself a reason for existence, slips into the crowd, its members soon crystalize and form a sect."³⁶

This statement is especially applicable to the relation of the mujiks to the Molokane. The Molokane have associated their "Spiritual teachings" with every function of life and under such circumstances have developed individual will-power,

³⁶ S. Sighele, Psychologie des Sectes, 44, quoted in Park and Burgess, An Introduction to the Science of Sociology, 202.

and strength of personality which has commanded respect for
them and has secured a large following from among the masses. ³⁷

³⁷ This discussion is not intended to be a theological exposition. Religion of the group is viewed from the standpoint of social organization, and the control it exercises upon the group, and the effect it has produced upon their personalities. Exact Biblical quotations have not always been employed, rather free translations to convey the meaning. Some of the interpretations of the passages in the Scriptures may carry the wrong emphasis, but since this is not a polemic account of the beliefs of the Molokane, we have not attempted to correct such discrepancies.

There has been no attempt made to discuss the psychological values of the Molokan religion. The reader is referred to Wm. James, Varieties of Religious Experience; R.M. Jones Spiritual Reformers of the 16th and 17th century; George Albert Coe, The Psychology of Religion; Edwin D. Starbuck, Psychology of Religion; Edward S. Ames, Psychology of Religion

CHAPTER V.

MOLOKAN RITUALISM

The Russian religious world since time immemorial has attached great significance to religious forms. The respect paid to forms of ritual has been so great that the seemingly slight reforms introduced by Nikon were sufficient cause to give rise to such a stupendous movement as the Raskol.

The whole life of the peasant, from harvesting his crops to marrying his children, is subject to religious ceremonial. The Molokane share some of the ritual, obriad, with the Orthodox Russians as well as with other Christian groups, but they have succeeded in developing some distinctive characteristics and tendencies; their religion provides new setting, new practices, and new interpretations. Their peculiar traits enter into various combinations with one another and have produced widely different results. The general scheme of life, or the "cultural pattern," of the Molokane differs widely from that of other religious and even from that of other sectarian groups. From their manner of greeting each other to the burial of their dead, they have tried to set themselves off as a distinct group, as "His people in the Holy Spirit."

73. Let all Brethren in the Spirit, always and everywhere, say when they meet one another, whether on the street or at home,--the one greeting the other to say--"God liveth; blessed be the Lord."--The response

to which shall be--"And we are His people in the Holy Spirit," whereupon they shall kiss each other, reciting the words of the new language--"Parignal Assuringal Usgoris."¹

The "we-group" attitude has intensified everything in their culture which bears a characteristic mark of distinctness. Ethocentrism of the Molokane, as of any other self-centered group, nourishes their pride, increases their loyalty to the group, and binds them together into a "spiritual brotherhood."

They have adopted a password, as it were, and all "Brethern in the Spirit" know it and use it. When several people get together in a place suitable for carrying out the religious ceremonies they sing in unison, exchange the symbolic kiss, thus emphasizing the strong attachment. "We are all of one mind, Brethern and Sisters, having all of us truly the love of God for one another," is a statement frequently found in songs, prayers, and sayings of the Molokane.

Molokan ceremonies unify the group. They build up a common sentiment and feeling among the members, which give the ritual an emotional meaning. "On ceremonial occasions, when one or another kind of social group functions as a unit the cultural associations of these units reach the acme of cohesion and interpenetration."²

Frequent participation in the ritual is expected of

¹ Morning Star, 369. The Molokane say that this is some of "the language of the Spirit."

² A.A. Goldenweiser, Early Civilization, 415.

every member. It is so closely interwoven with the daily life of the group that participation is practically inevitable. They have developed special ceremonies for the birth of a child, marriage, sickness and death; even departure, reunion, and many kinds of individual enterprises are occasions for ceremonies. All crises of life are attended by ritualism. It has become a process attendant upon nearly all group activities. It is easier to fall back on tradition and to follow the customary behavior patterns than to attempt to meet the crises in new and untried ways.

The ritual of the Molokane is formal, serious, effective and powerful. Yet Livanov remarks³ that their ritual differs from that of the Russian Orthodox population in its brevity, simplicity, a certain fragmentary character of their prayers and a reserve in giving away to grief over the death of their near ones. According to Livanov the ritual of the Orthodox on this occasion is far more touching, and the songs and prayers bring forth great compassion and lamentation.

Molokan Funeral.

The Molokan funeral services comprise special prayers by the elder, songs "with solemn, mournful voices," Special prayers are offered for young children. The following is a common funeral prayer:

³ Dissenters and Prisoners, 270.

74. Gracious Creator! I plead with Thee in prayer for my brother, Harken into this my supplication and forgive him all the sins which he may have committed from childhood down to the time of his death. . .

Gracious Creator! I plead for him before Thee. Do Thou resurrect him with this same body and soul, as in the first and holy resurrection, for Thou art merciful.

Gracious Lord! I plead for him before Thee. Do Thou grant him peace everlasting and a place among all saints in Thy glorious paradise, with comfort and refreshment from the tree of life. . .

Gracious Father! I plead for him before Thee. Do Thou feed and nourish him with fruit from the tree of life, with the water of life and the bread of everlasting life. . .⁴

75. We hold special services for the sick and the dead and resign our faith to Him who guides us through life and everafter. Blessed are they who die in the Lord for they rest from their labors and their works follow them. (An elder)

The Molokane conceive of life on earth as a mere trial and preparation for the Life Eternal where the departed members "rejoice forevermore in the midst of angels and archangels, in the resplendent glory of their presence."⁵

76. Death in a Molokan home is the occasion of intense grief and much ceremony. Sometimes when the individual is dying, for days before the end, the sick chamber is filled with relatives and friends who weep, wail, pray and sing. The burial robes are gotten ready and often shown to the dying one. . . who does not object to this display of emotion and its significance. On the contrary, he considers it a tribute to himself and appreciates the grief of his friends and relatives.

After death the body is washed and dressed in the burial garments. Because the Molokans believe in a literal resurrection of the physical body, there is no embalming, and, in consequence, a Russian corpse is not a pleasant object to look upon. The body is placed in a rude box, fashioned by the family or friends,

⁴/₅ Sacred Prayer Book and Ritual, 25-26.
ibid., p. 32.

covered over with cotton cloth. This cloth is frequently blue in color. I have seen a body in the summer heat packed in ice to preserve it,--the melting ice dripping through the box and making little puddles of water on the floor, and members of the family leaning over the uncovered corpse, fanning the flies away.

At the time of the funeral the relatives and friends gather at the home of the deceased. The body is brought outside and placed on a bench, or on the ground, and the friends gather around it, chanting. It is then carried through the streets in its open box, supported on long towels, which the pall bearers pull over their shoulders and thus support the weight. The lid of the coffin is carried in front of the corpse, and, at the head of the procession, is borne on a long pole a block of wood bearing the name of the deceased and something concerning his life and character. This is finally placed at the head of the grave. The body is carried exposed to the elements, because those who loved it in life feel that it is the last time it can be touched by the sun, the light and the wind, since in but a little while they will consign it to the grave where it must remain in darkness until the resurrection day.

The grave is dug the depth required by law, and then, at the bottom of the grave, and to one side, is dug a niche, the size of the coffin, into which it is finally placed. At the grave the wailing is heart-rending, and to the Americans, the demonstrations of the sorrow are apt to be most exhausting.

The funeral service opens with prayer, a prayer which pleads with the Creator to forgive the sins of the dead, to judge him not with severity, to resurrect him with the same body and soul, to open unto him the gates of the new heavenly Jerusalem, to greet him with a kiss, and to feed him with the fruit of the tree of life. Then follows a song for the deceased. There is a special song for the sister, for the little children of the male sex, for the son and for the daughter. At the grave is sung unto the dead the following last song of lamentation:

"Remember, O, thou deceased mortal, that dust thou art and dust, thou returnest, where thou shalt remain until the second coming of the Lord, and we do not seek to detain thee longer among us; and thou, O, soul, together with the spirit which animated him, shall now quit this body and return to thy habitation, abiding therein with him as a friendly bride with her bridegroom until thou art called for the judgment of the Master, when thou shalt receive thy reward and He shall bring thee to life again. etc. etc.⁶

⁶ Sacred Prayer Book and Rituals, 34.

After the body has been interred all present bow low to the ground and say a prayer. . . Following the burial, the family of the deceased gives a feast in the church where there is additional chanting and wailing and each person present is presented with a handkerchief in memory of the dead. These handkerchiefs are put away and cherished. Three feasts are frequently given, one each day following the three days after the burial. Thereafter the family gives an annual feast in the memory of the dead, tho this feast is not of necessity held at the church.⁷

The funeral and marriage ceremonies here described were observed in America, but according to descriptions by Livanov who studied the group in Russia in the latter part of the 19-th century the practices have undergone very little change.

A Molokan Wedding

77. The church at which the wedding occurred consists of a large room on the first floor of a two story private residence. The entrance to the church is from a driveway on the side. Knots of people in holiday attire are gathered about the gateway: Heavy-set, bearded peasants are dressed in Russian blouses tied with silk cords; the women who stand separately from the men, wear the conventional Russian costume.

There is a buzz of conversation but everyone is well behaved, there is no loud talking. Some are chewing sunflower seeds littering the grounds with husks. Children are everywhere but are under control. Everyone is immaculately clean in sharp contrast with the surroundings. In the rear of the yard the wedding feast is being prepared. Three large washboilers are being emptied of large chunks of boiled beef which is piled high on a large improvised table. Three or four cooks are slicing out bone and cutting the meat into smaller pieces. One end of the table is piled high with what seems to be raw cabbage cut small. Meat liquor and occasional pieces of meat and cabbage drop from the table and are tramped under foot. The cooks are busy with the feast for which several hundred people are gathering.

⁷ W. Stack, Social Values of Molokan Religion 22-24. (Manuscript, University of Southern California, Seminar Reports 1924.)

⁸ See Th. Livanov, Dissenters and Prisoners, II, 160, 185, 242-49, 280-288.

The whole procedure is managed seemingly to suit the tastes of people whose appetites need no stimulating and who do not appear epicurean in any sense.

Meantime a large new sedan decorated with colored paper streamers has gone for the bride. When it returns the yard is full of people talking quietly with a subdued expectant air. The bridal party dismounts slowly. All the girls wear Russian shawls over their heads a curious contrast with their stylish American dress and the late model American automobile.

For some time singing has been going on in the church, and it is evident that the preliminary ceremonies are under way. At this point an elderly woman appears at the doorway with a loaf of bread in one hand and a dish of salt in the other. She says a few words, the bride and the groom step into the church and the crowd follows them slowly and orderly.

The room is large and barren. The backless benches are stacked to the rear and side. As the crowd enters it separates, the older men go to the head of the room and gather in long lines facing each other at the right and left of the elders. The older women complete the fourth side of the square, standing in straight rows. Younger girls and children stand on the benches in the rear.

The crowd is slow to find its place and a continual shifting about occurs. This slight commotion, added to the wails of infants and the excitement of the children, creates sufficient din to well nigh drown out the voice of the elder who officiates. Apparently he makes no effort to make himself heard beyond the first few rows.

The ritual is simple and does not vary much from the regular services except for the bridal party. There are songs, prayers, responses, prostrations, and some weeping on the part of the relatives.

Omitting details and not attempting to reproduce the order of the ceremony some of the more noticeable activities were: The groom approached the elder of the church first and was followed by the bride. The ceremony was opened with prayers, the bridal party and relatives kneeling with their foreheads touching the floor. The relatives of the bride took her hand and placed it in the hand of the groom saying "We give our daughter to you to be your wife." Take her to your father's house, and may the blessing of God, together

⁹ The prayers and songs have been inserted in their proper place in this report from the Sacred Prayerbook and Rituals

with our blessing as parents be with you always. Amen." Prayers, quotations from the Scriptures and the Molokan Sacred Prayer Book and Ritual followed. The bride and groom were then charged with their new responsibilities. The responses were repeated by the couple inaudibly, they bowed and prostrated themselves numerous times, and were kissed by the elders in conclusion. "We have listened attentively to everything that has been fully explained to us, and we consider ourselves sacredly bound to follow most earnestly the advice that has been given, for the Glory of God and the Honor of the spiritual brotherhood; to preserve the integrity of our family life, and to have respect for our parents, with the help and blessing of God, both spiritually and physically, thruout all the days of our life. Amen."

Then the bride was inducted into the married state: her hair was braided, "tied" on her head and the cap of the married woman put on her by the bridesmaids in the rear of the room, while the congregation sang from Isaiah 60:9. Next the couple were placed behind the table and "according to the example set by the Great Archangel Raphael at the marriage of Tobias and Sarah" a relative bestowed upon them the symbolical wedding gifts tied up in tablecloth, and representing the good wishes felt for the newly married couple in the establishment of their home. The gifts included several glasses, salt shakers, plates, and a large loaf of white bread. The bread and salt on the table of a church are survivals of an old Russian custom "for he who has bread and salt will prosper." They were tied up almost immediately by the bridesmaid. (Gifts of small sums of money were given to the couple during the feast).

There was little of the Molokan religious behavior. The groom's mother, however, was much affected and wept violently. She kissed one of the men relatives many times. He in turn became very much wrought up and "jumped" in characteristic fashion. One or two women in the front row were also much stirred up. One of the songs was very stirring but no general excitement was roused. The formal ritual required about 45 minutes. Preparations were then made for the feast. (Personal Observation).

78. "A Russian Wedding is very expensive. Our wedding which was only of the ordinary kind cost more than \$800.00. We never went out any place that required spending any money. We saved every cent we earned and spent all of it on the feast and the wedding outfit. When you invite only your near relatives you have a churchful. My husband-to-be, according to the old custom, re-imbursed my parents for the

economic loss of their daughter as I went to live with my husband's people. The greater the esteem put upon the bride by the groom and his family, the greater the re-imbusement for the bride upon her leaving the home of her parents.

When we agreed to become engaged and our parents gave us their consent, we appeared at a meeting before the spiritual brotherhood and announced that we wish to marry. (The public declaration runs thus: "Brothers and sisters, we hereby declare our mutual desire to enter into affectionate matrimonial relations of our own free will, each of us individually, and likewise with the full consent of our respective relatives, as our first parents, Adam and Eve, were united before God in the Garden of Eden.-Amen!")¹⁰

Then the elders gave their blessing to us, congratulated our parents, and we intended to be married in a month after those preliminaries, but suddenly our parents announced to us that it was the wish of the elders, and also of their own, that we marry the following Sunday. You never saw such a rush in your life. They never did explain to us the cause of the sudden change but we managed to abide by their wish and got married on the day set by the elders.

My father tells us many stories of how weddings were arranged in Russia and he thinks we 'got off easy.' In Russia some parents would not even intimate their plans of marrying their children. When the young son returns from a day's work, he learns that he is to get ready for a meeting where the declaration of marriage will be made. If the son protests, arguing he never saw the girl, his father threatens to beat him up and no farther objections are made. These cases may not occur very often but there is at least one member in each group among the older people who will tell you a similar story.

We were nineteen when we married. The Russian boys and girls mature early and it has become a custom to marry early. There is also a saying "if not one man there will be many," and our parents are anxious for us to marry young.

My father tells us that the marriage ceremony itself has not changed. Sometimes, however, after the declaration is made, the elders may advise the particular couple against entering into matrimony. They have their reasons and they are usually right. In our case, however, they gave us our blessing and the congregation present accompanied us to the home of my parents singing the 22nd Psalm on the way. At the

¹⁰ Sacred Prayer Book and Ritual, 17.

house the bride to be is presented to the groom and the elders offer prayers and sanctify the bond. The actual ceremony takes place at the church. (A young married woman).

The marriage sanctioned by the elders is considered legal. The public declaration of mutual love and the participation of the public in the ceremonies further bond the matrimonial contract. Divorces are very rare among the older generation.

Ceremonies For New Born Children

The new born child is initiated into the group with songs and prayers, and after considerable ceremony, it is considered a "member of the mount of Zion," a member of "the new nation and of the chosen people."

79. For such as are born in the new nation and of the chosen people. When a married woman gives birth to a child, the grandmother shall take it in her arms and bathe it in living water (water that has not been boiled), wrapping it in new, clean cloths. The child is then to be taken to the house of the father, to which the elder and other relatives shall be invited, for the sanctification of the babe by the elder, in prayer. Kneeling down, he shall place his hands upon the babe, as our Lord, Himself, did, and shall give it a name in accordance with the wishes of the parents. The elder shall then read the 112th psalm. together with the ceremonial prayer, just as though the Lord, Himself, through the hand of the elder, were laying His hand upon the child.-Read Matthew 19: 14-15.- So shall the elder observe the commandment, saying: I bless thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. May the blessing of the Holy Ghost rest upon thee and guide and direct thee throughout thy entire life. After which the elder shall blow upon the child three times from his mouth, and kissing it affectionately shall say: AMEN! The choir shall then sing for the child the new song.¹¹

¹¹ Sacred Prayer Book and Rituals, 15-16.

80. Then the mother who hath borne the child shall come, at the expiration of her period, with her son or daughter, to the public service at the meeting, in the new temple facing the altar, bringing gifts for her purification to the extent of her means; and the elder shall make prayer in her behalf, upon which occasion he shall read: the sixth verse of the twelfth chapter of the third book of Moses, and the twenty-second verse of the second chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke.¹²

The ordinary services on Sundays and holidays bear the characteristic mark of simplicity and originality of the "Spiritual Christians." The kiss during the service is a sign of brotherly love, and equality, and is a "token of prophetic, brotherly Holy love, in emblematic commemoration of the Holy Union of the Lamb and His Bride, garbed in the splendour of the sunshine, for the glory and honor of His new crown."¹³

Molokan Sunday Morning Services¹⁴

81. A volume of music assailed us as soon as we had entered the courtyard and increased measurably as we stood at the door, waiting to enter. After several moments hesitation, all who had gathered at the door, entered the room a short distance, hesitated again a moment in silent prayer - the singing proceeding full voice -- then, men and women separating, moved to vacant seats. The assemblage which had been standing, then sat down, and the singing continued.

As soon as all were seated, it became apparent that there was a definite arrangement in the seating.¹⁵ Along the north side of the room ran long benches. These were filled with bearded men, two of which were immediately noticed because of their long white patriarchal beards and their exceedingly dignified countenances. Both were dressed in light material, one wearing a white dress vest over his blouse. In front of these two men was a plain, small table, containing several books. Against

¹² Sacred Prayer Book and Rituals, 16.

¹³ Sacred Prayer Book and Rituals, 12.

¹⁴ See also 77-78 of this thesis.

¹⁵ See same description in Russian Encyclopedia, 644.

the west wall, to the right of the patriarchal elders and at right angles to the first line of benches, were two rows of benches extending almost half of the depth of the room. These were filled with younger but all full-bearded men, evidently a choir. From this quarter came by far the largest volume of sound. Facing them, across a space six or seven feet wide, was the bulk of the male worshippers all seated on the common backless benches. The remainder of the room was occupied by the women whose benches faced directly toward the elders. They constituted a solid mass of white with only their weathered hands and faces showing out from edgings of whitest lace.

The room was half filled when we entered. As later arrivals appeared, the congregation arose, still singing, for a moment, until the newcomers had had time for a brief prayer, then sat down again. This was repeated many times during the service. In case Scripture reading was in progress, the reader stopped until his audience had resumed their seats.

Two different men read Scripture passages. The first somewhat hesitating, and with occasional stumbling. The second with a full, free, resonant voice, with much speed and clear enunciation, on the whole very effectively. It was not possible to note any special effect of the reading upon the listeners.

After two Scripture passages and three songs, one of the elders dropped to his knees and prayed in a full, smooth voice, heavily tinged with feeling, if not frankly laden with emotion.

Then at a word from the elder, the benches were moved back to the walls. As soon as all had resumed their former relative positions, an informal procession started. By two's and singly, men and women moved to the table and quietly deposited their contribution. As much as ten or twelve dollars in small coins were soon piled on the table. This was followed by another prayer by the elder.

Then came a call for those who desired special prayers. Two women immediately came forward. They were met by the two elders. They bowed lowly to the elders and to the right and left and the bows were returned. All dropped to their knees, followed by most of the congregation, and an earnest, rapid, powerful prayer was offered by the elder; the women sobbing, many of those in the congregation not only falling to their knees but, burying their faces in their hands, fell forward until their foreheads touched the floor. They remained in this position throughout the prayer, many sobbing deeply and in a most heart-rending manner. At this stage of the service one noted the most reverent attitude on the part of all. Those few who had been yawning or whispering in the back seats during the singing and reading were now at attention. Many women, but no men, were on their faces, the majority of the aud-

ience were on their knees, backs straight, eyes down, on the bare floor, the remaining few stood quietly listening. Two Molokan men, who had recently come from the Mexican colony, appeared. They came forward and stood by the elders; men and women came forward and kissed the two newcomers. The more important personages came first, to all appearances, and took their place in the receiving line, after having greeted the two. It was observed that both before and after the kiss a little bow was made and returned, slight but easily recognizable as such. There seemed to be considerable feeling throughout this performance.

As soon as everyone had struggled to his feet, following the elders, the men generally kissed each other and in the end the women came forward, kissing first the elders, then the brothers in turn. They moved quietly, pausing just a moment to place their hands upon each others arms or shoulders and touch the cheek or lips of the other with their own. While all seemed deeply stirred by this time, nearly all appeared well under control and after a brief prayer the meeting broke up without confusion and without haste, each speaking to his neighbor.

The whole service had lasted little more than an hour.¹⁶

Religion to the Molokane represent not only a creed or a positive system of beliefs, but a body of religious practices, institutions, and social values. A high "collective consciousness" has resulted from the common practices and observances. The individual is an integral part of the group and has come to consciousness only through the group. Individual welfare is conceived only through the welfare of the group. Personal salvation is possible only through social salvation. "Untrained people also form strong convictions from notions which have been long and firmly held without evidence, and they offer to others the firmness of their own convictions as grounds for accepting the same faith without proof. Ritual acts and ascetic observances which

¹⁶ Reported by E.F. Young.

others can see, also conduct and zeal in prayer or singing, help this transfer of faith without or against proof. These appeals to suggestibility all come under the head of drama."¹⁷

These dramatic performances gain further significance when the rhythm of song and the solemnity of prayer are an essential part of them. The ceremonial activities with their rhythmic pulse dominate the whole community week after week, and year after year. Thru the ritual everybody shares in the aspirations, triumphs, victories of all others. During the church ceremonies people come forth for special prayers and everybody rejoices or suffers vicariously. Ritual embraces all minds in a common atmosphere.

The Molokane, of course, do not consider their ritual as mere form. To them it possesses almost magical qualities which serve as a nexus between them and God. Ritual purifies their souls from all evil. Frequently Molokane express a feeling of joy and comfort because they have felt imbued with the Holy Spirit and have been in close Spiritual communion with the Lord. Those affected swing their arms with short, jerky movements, talk incoherently and very rapidly trying to explain to the rest of the congregation how happy and inspired they feel. Several members in the choir, particularly those who are most energetic in their chanting kiss the "affected" members vigorously and in full understanding of their emotions. The Molokane say that

¹⁷ William G. Sumner, Folkways, 220.

these people "talk with tongues" and the Spirit directs their conduct without any conscious knowledge on their part. The following was observed during a Sunday evening church service:

82. After a number of nervous shrugs and movements, an older man threw his hands suddenly over his head and began to explain how thrilled and happy he was and how much he loved his brethren. He threw his hands around freely, babbling very rapidly and excited and finally kissing the two elders nearest to him.

The Molokane may not always understand the symbolism involved in the ritual but they have sufficient faith to practice it uncritically and unreflectively. The ritual is a non-discussable matter in the Molokan community, a strong social habit ingrained and impressed on the lives of the Molokane from early childhood. It exerts pressure on everyone within the group. Indeed a Molokan who questioned the validity of the traditional practices would be regarded as "impious."

The Molokane practice their rites with preciseness, not because of any immediate fear of the supernatural on earth or fear of the future. Their religious ceremonies are chiefly traditional and are a powerful factor in social control and social unity. Though they are traditional, they are practiced with all earnestness and with great solemnity. Their culture is rich in feeling and full of the emotional tone of the Southern Slav. Everybody is deeply stirred. Frequently heart-rending sobs coming from the breasts of men as well as of women are heard dur-

ing a church ceremony. This is a mechanism which unites all Molokane. No amount of theological argument could have the effect their comparatively simple rituals produce.

The individual loses his identity in the group, and the individual minds are fused with the mind of the mass. They serve to confirm the people in their faith. They go through the process of religious "revivals" during the religious ceremonies, and are thus reunited with their past each time they get together. The "cultural mass" is ever aglow within the hearts of the true Molokane.

The chief theological dogmas underlying Molokan ritualism are not greatly different from the Christian dogmas generally, but in their attempt to set themselves off as a distinct group, their ritualism has served to produce a new frame of mind, new social traits which intensify the social values of their own group. These values have been given a sense of sacredness and are embodied in the religious ceremonials and are, therefore, subject to very little change. The brotherly kiss, the communal feast, the blowing on the mouth of a new born babe, are all forms which were at first intended for signs of distinction but have with age acquired high religious sanction. Their insistence on maintaining these special signs have brought them into conflict with Russian Orthodoxy, but this conflict, as on all other occasions, has only heightened the ardor of their religious ritualism. Dissension implies superiority, and withdrawal is the best means for developing a sense of superiority

and a desire for a separate existence.

In their isolation the Molokane have pondered over the "Book of Wisdom" until they have succeeded in extracting in their simple way, the moral of the teachings of the prophets and in filling their souls with a truly religious spirit. One rarely meets peasant groups so thoroughly familiar with the Scriptures or so profoundly influenced by the principles of humility, charity, equality and love for their neighbors. The Golden Rule is taken to be a sufficient guide for daily life. They have succeeded remarkably well in giving it practical application. The Molokane seem to live in a sort of idyllic religious state, in which simplicity, directness, sincerity, and self-control are the guiding spirits.

The doctrines elaborated by the Molokane are the more significant when we consider the meagre social and intellectual equipment of this Russian peasant group. There is one element or characteristic in the Molokane, as well as in all Russians, which must not be overlooked when speaking of their religious observances. The Molokane often speak of the "spaciousness of the Russian soul," a term wrapped in obscurity to the American mind, but a thing quite real and tangible to Russians. Perhaps we should speak of it as "Russian religious nature" which emanates from the depths of the Russian forests, their vast plains, their impenetrable steppes, their mysterious mountains and rushing rivers. It suffices to read the songs and odes to the

18

River Volga, the poetic descriptions of the River Dnieper,

18 W.R.S. Ralston, Songs of the Russian People, also Voljanin, Volga Motives.

and the literature devoted to the vast Russian forests to appreciate that of their romantically beautiful scenery has developed^o lofty spirit of holiness, which bows in submission to the Creator and seeks to express with veneration what the beauties of nature have, perhaps unconsciously, instilled in his "Russian soul."

The winter in Russia, a topic much dwelt on by poets,
19
novelists and even foreign travellers, arouses deep religious emotions in the Russian peasant who is perhaps closer to nature than the Russian population in general. "The Creator of heaven and earth" is always behind the grandeur of the Russian scenery. In the religious observances of the Molokane, we can see an expression of their great respect for the Maker. "And in him (the Russian sectarian) the blood, so to speak, talks, his heart murmurs, his soul is striving for 'something' is reaching out for 'something.' He wishes to be a good man, and wants to see everybody around him happy. . . It suffices to hear the songs of the sectarians to understand their strife, their anguish for spiritual activity. . . This vein is still stronger and beats more notice-
20
ably in the writings of the so-called 'Spiritual Christians,'"

This passionately powerful thirst for religious expression, coupled with their desire to distinguish themselves from the Orthodox, has driven the Molokane to produce new teachings, interpretations, ceremonials and institutions.

19 F.H.E. Palmer, Russian Life in Town and Country, 200 ff.
20 A. S. Prugavin, ibid., 23.

The Molokane, like all dissenters, have compensated for their inferior social position by a relatively high standard of communal unity, zeal and virtue, expressed through their ritualism. Their unity and spirit of brotherhood, the result of collective activity, "ennobled their souls and gave the temper of iron to the steel of their characters."²¹

The Molokane have never developed a system of priests who guide the performance of religious rites and ceremonies. The Molokan community at large has assumed that responsibility. Their elders, leaders and prophets spur them to religious activity. Molokan prophets constitute a definite institution in the culture of the group, and many of its activities and movements are a response to the "call of the prophet."

²¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, ibid., 337.

CHAPTER VI

MOLOKAN PROPHETS AND PROPHECIES

The Molokane have produced two kinds of leaders: the leader-administrator and the prophetic leader. The former makes everything run smoothly. He oils the wheels of the tradition; he organizes his followers; he converts masses into orderly, efficient groups. The prophet is the inspirational leader, "talks with tongues" and calls his people out of the "wilderness". He depends on arousing emotions and sentiments.

Owing to the fact that the "Molokane are always in need of spiritual activity" and are highly organized both types of leaders have an opportunity to exercise their genius. In the Jewish group the administrative type predominates; in the Negro community -- the inspirational. The Molokan situation is more complete because both leaders act harmoniously and simultaneously. "The itinerant prophets and the sectarians who pretend they are going to transform human societies and inaugurate a sort of heavenly city on earth may be illuminates, yet they are not half as absurd as our so called reformers who dream the same dream with God and Faith and love left out."¹

The Molokan community has produced many leaders. The atmosphere practically "hatches leaders." "God creates leaders in a crisis". "Would God that all Lord's people

¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, Ibid., 450.

were prophets, and that the Lord would put His spirit upon them!"² "The prophet is the witness bearer, the God-inspired, the God-possessed man or woman. . . able to declare the mind of Christ to the age."³ The Molokane with a naivete befitting the religious mind of the peasant sectarians have been greatly influenced by the prophecies of Maxim G. Rudometkin, Efim Klubnikin, the "youthful prophet," Lukian Peter Sokolov and many others. "When the spirit of the Lord rested upon them they prophecied and did not cease."

84. Just as God told Moses: "To you I reveal my wish and unto you I give my wisdom and you choose your own leaders" so did God tell our prophet Maxim Rudometkin to choose his leaders among his people. The wonder still remains that He appointed a small innocent twelve year old boy to be the spiritual secretary to our main prophet, Maxim Gavrilovitch (Rudometkin). God chose a small boy, simple and illiterate, to show the people the truth of the prophecy and the significance of the revelation. (An elder).

These prophecies have been written down and are precious testimonials of the Holy Ghost. Every Molokan of the older generation profoundly believes that the prophet was kindled by direct action of God and is directed by the spirit without conscious effort on his part.

85. And thus I, Maxim, have a new name: The Tzar of the Spirituals and the God of all the Faithful on earth. The youthful Efim (Klubnikin), the son of Gerasim Karnovitch in the gates of Matvej, has personally prophecied a new song, repeating twice: we will sing a new song, we will sing a new song; we will bless the Tzar of the

² Numbers 11: 29.

³ The Christian Century, R.J. Campbell, "Would There Were Prophets," XLIII, No.6, 171. (Feb.11,1926).

Spirituals, and we will reign with Christ a thousand years, we will reign with Christ a thousand years. To the Glory of God, to the Glory of God, a third person appeared, a third person appeared! Amen!⁴

The following are excerpts from the prophetic writings of Maxim G. Rudometkin. They are so vivid and powerful that they strongly confirm the sensitive sectarians in their faith.

86. "I beg all the sons and daughters of the Jacob to the teachings of this book with patience and love, and recognize God's secret hidden in it, but written by my hand under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost which always guides the tongue in my songs. . . .

I beg you not to hesitate, for the kingdom does not consist of the uncertain but of those standing firmly on the foundation of the prophetic spirit. And if any one does not desire to hear or read my secret prophecies he better close his mouth tightly, close his aspic-deaf ears and run straight into the abyss, without looking back. . . .⁵

The Molokan prophets believed in their own close contact with divinity and were intoxicated by their great following and the effect their eloquence produced on their brothers. They poured out their souls in numerous religious writings or oratories which took the form of divine commands.

87. "And here am I, Maxim, the last and chief Hero and conqueror, and fearless judge of all evil. I am standing on the field of war. And anyone who opposes me, will now die the death,-- no matter who he is; just as if he had not heeded the voice of God on earth and had paid no attention to my constant sufferings which I have endured for many years. I have always been deprived of every liberty, earnestly prayed God on earth, that the people heed His

⁴ Spirit and Life, 241-242.

⁵ Spirit and Life, 199.

voice. And therefore, I, Maxim, personally effected by His Holy Spirit, am the Son of God, and the new successor of all the universe; or the basis for the whole new Israel, just as Semen Matvej was to all the Molokane."⁶

88. And thus I am a new Yulia. I sat down at first upon the stool and took a pencil and paper in my right hand. Suddenly my head was filled with true wisdom and supreme knowledge concerning the heavenly world. Whereupon my head began to shake and my heart began to play a new role; at the same time my soul partook of the strength of the Holy Ghost; and it started of its own accord to sing of the new and the beautiful acts of God and revealed the spirit in many fiery tongues. I was transported beyond the seven heavens-- whether soul or body, I cannot tell, for I do not clearly know. There I remained for eight days and nights, without food or drink. And I heard the decrees of God's judgment on all impious worlds. And thanks to this (experience) I have written in this book, according to the blessing of God, tho briefly. Amen.⁷

89. Oh! a terrible battle will occur on earth in about three and a half years! Everywhere a republic will arise which will destroy all power on earth; and the thrones of all Christians' Tzars will be destroyed. And at that time the crafty beast of Anti-Christ by God's will, will take over all the power in those short years and will thus conquer all the nations of the earth. . .⁸

The Molokane in recognition of this "song" wrote a eulogy repeating in places the exact words of the song of their hero, his deeds and sufferings. The eulogy is here partly reproduced.

A SONG FOR OUR LAST AND GREATEST HERO.

90. Oh, our most laudable, beloved brother, our last and greatest Hero, the Tzar of all the Universe. He is also the eternal successor on the throne of Christ's kingdom on earth,--namely Maxim Gavrilovitch Rudometkin! He is a native of Tambov

⁶ Ibid., 241.

⁷ Spirit and Life, 45.

⁸ Ibid., 201.

province. When eight years old he was converted to the true religion together with his parents. In his youth he and his parents immigrated to Transcaucasia, together with many people of his faith. He was always of exemplary behavior, reading the word of Christ. And thus he became convinced of the sacred mysteries of the Scriptures, and he devoted himself to the God of heaven and earth by prayers and fasts.⁹

The eulogy continues, setting forth the deeds and sufferings of the "Hero," often comparing him with Moses who was the ward of the Egyptian Pharaoh, just as Rudometkin was "the ward of the Russian Pharaoh."

91. Maxim G. Rudometkin is a co-laborer of Lukian Sokolov and David Ossipov, the teachers of the Spirituals. He was an ardent and zealous partisan of the Evangelical and Biblical teachings, steadfastly believing in the Holy Ghost, in the sanctified soul and the eternal life; he was a very strongly religious man. He prophesied the Christian religion of the Spirituals and was deeply convinced in the presence of the Holy Ghost; under God's influence and guidance, he had the gift of a bountiful command of words and wisdom, and strength of spirit of prophecy and revelation.

On the strength of these traits he was named ¹⁰ "The Tzar of the Spirituals", Leader of Zion's People."

For his zealous religious deeds and the conviction of the early coming of the millennium into the benevolent Christian Kingdom on earth and his resurrection into this kingdom, for all this the officials of the Caucasus awarded him with exile in the Solovietski monastery. He was sent in September 1858 and reached his destination in 1860. He travelled under military escort, making the journey by foot, chained and handcuffed. He walked for over a year and only in the monastery was his spirit liberated from the iron fetters. . . He spent nine

⁹ Ibid., 244.

¹⁰ "In 1857 Rudometkin decided to announce himself Tzar of the Spiritual Christians, and crowning himself, sewed on a special garb a sort of an epaulet, on which the letters 'U' and 'D' signified Tzar of the Spirituals. He was sent to prison but in his stead many other 'Tzars' appeared." Russian Encyclopedia, 646, XIX.

miserable years and nine days in dark, damp, solitary cells, as if alive in a grave...

During his severe sufferings and privations, enduring tyranny and oppression, he remained faithful to his deep convictions, though they were the cause of his torments. In the walls of confinement which are the only witnesses of his sufferings, he tirelessly worked on the fields of God and composed a great deal that is useful and valuable in matters of religion.

His life and sufferings are unshaken in spite of his persecutors, and also the fruit of his labors for God, his zeal for the hearts of believers. The ¹¹ crown of his unfading fame rests upon his head. Amen.

92. The disseminators of Molokanism are people of simple, humble extraction, if not illiterate, they are hardly literate, entirely unacquainted with worldly wisdom but enlightened by God: Lukian P. Sokolov, Fedor Ossipovitch and M.G. Rudocemtkin.

These people with the vision, wisdom and gifts of the Holy Ghost, as if truly God-sent and seekers of the true spirit of Religion, fruitfully developed the faith of the simple people, not excluding any sex or age. They rooted in the hearts of the people the fear of God, the sacrament of penitance and the gift of the Holy Ghost. They turned a great many on the road to God; His Law of freedom and Life, resurrecting people from the dead. They experienced the richness and goodness of the gospel and had great success.

For their teachings of the usefulness of humanity and the saving of the souls in the hereafter, the co-workers of God were exposed to various pursuits and severe suffering.¹²

Another celebrated "prophet" is Efim Klubnikin. He is known for his "plans" which he drew under the direction of the Holy Ghost.

93. Efim G. Klubnikin at the age of twelve years when he was just beginning to read and write, in the village of Nikitino, in 1855, was blessed with the Holy Ghost for seven full days and nights. During that time and later he, with the help from above, sketched plans, wrote down his visions, and uncovered

¹¹ Ibid., 29-30.

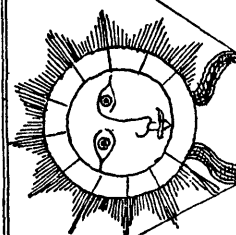
¹² Ibid., 24-28.

prophecies in songs, prayers and stories of spiritual significance: the fate of the true worshippers, their flight from Russia, their suffering and reward by Christ in the millenium.

These plans were drawn by hand with exquisite workmanship, the kind which can only be imitated by learned painters; judging according to his youth and literacy it deserves admiration! He was born of faithful parents on December 17, 1842, and passed into eternity August 5, 1915, leaving a devoted memory. To his urgent insistence we owe our trip to America.¹³

94. I had a chance to talk to him in later years after we arrived in this country and I asked him "How did you make these plans?" and he said: "Well, I had about 15 or 16 large sheets of paper and I made a mark here, and a mark there, went from page to page drawing lines first on one and then on the other, never working on one sheet long at a time and I felt the Holy Spirit was guiding my hand as I was drawing. When it was finished our fathers and forefathers perceived a miracle. Page 460 of our sacred book, Spirit and Life, is a reproduction of the original drawing which shows swords. That means that a fight was headed toward our land and the prophet said: "Send us away quick, otherwise they will slay us. You know well the Spirituals are friendly. You know who has the spirit. They will slay us, let us and we will make our swords." Page 461 means that a great cloud will appear in the sky, the sun will turn into blood and the moon into darkness. But God has saved us. If you look upon page 469 you will see that the path is divided. The prophet said, pointing to the right path, "This is the right way, the correct way. Go prepared. God is waiting for his people in Zion! Go, do not slacken. Go faster, faster! Do not turn from this path! Oh, those unfortunate people who turned back, from that road! Here went the divine road and so the Lord Himself, Jesus Christ. The small boy drew the four trumpets pointing to all the four corners of the world calling them together. That was our sacred call and those who answered are saved and blessed. We regard this as the greatest miracle on earth and are thankful that this revelation came to us, to a people, simple, illiterate. The prophecy came true, a dark cloud hung over the world for a few years, the people took up arms and the war began. (An elder.)

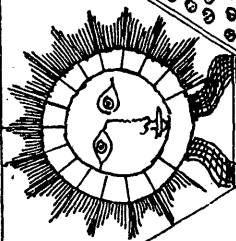
¹³ Ibid., 424.



СВИДЕТЕЛЬ
(Witness)

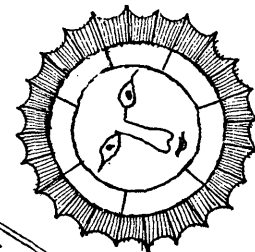
ИДЕМЪ ИДЕМЪ ТЫШО
ЛЪТЪ ЦРЪВТА ВЪСНИ
(We are going to
reign a thousand
years in Zion)

ПОСЛАЛЪ ПОВЪСТИТЬ
ЛЮДЕМЪ СВОИМЪ
СЪТЪИМЪ. МАТИТЬ
МАТИТА ВЪ
ПОХОДЪ
(God let His Holy people
know to go on the march)

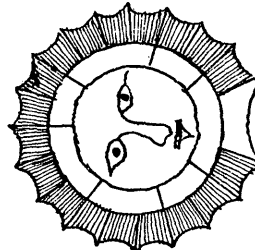


СВИДЕТЕЛЬ
(Witness)

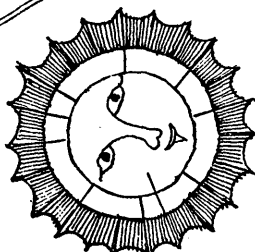
ДОЖИДАЙТЕСЯ ИДИТЕ ГОТОВИ
ГЛА МРАСИСКОИХЪ А ИДИТЕ КЪ ЦИОНЪ
(God is waiting
for His people and to
go prepare
Zion)



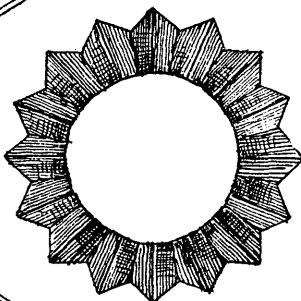
ОЦЪ
(Father)



СЪНЪ
(Son)

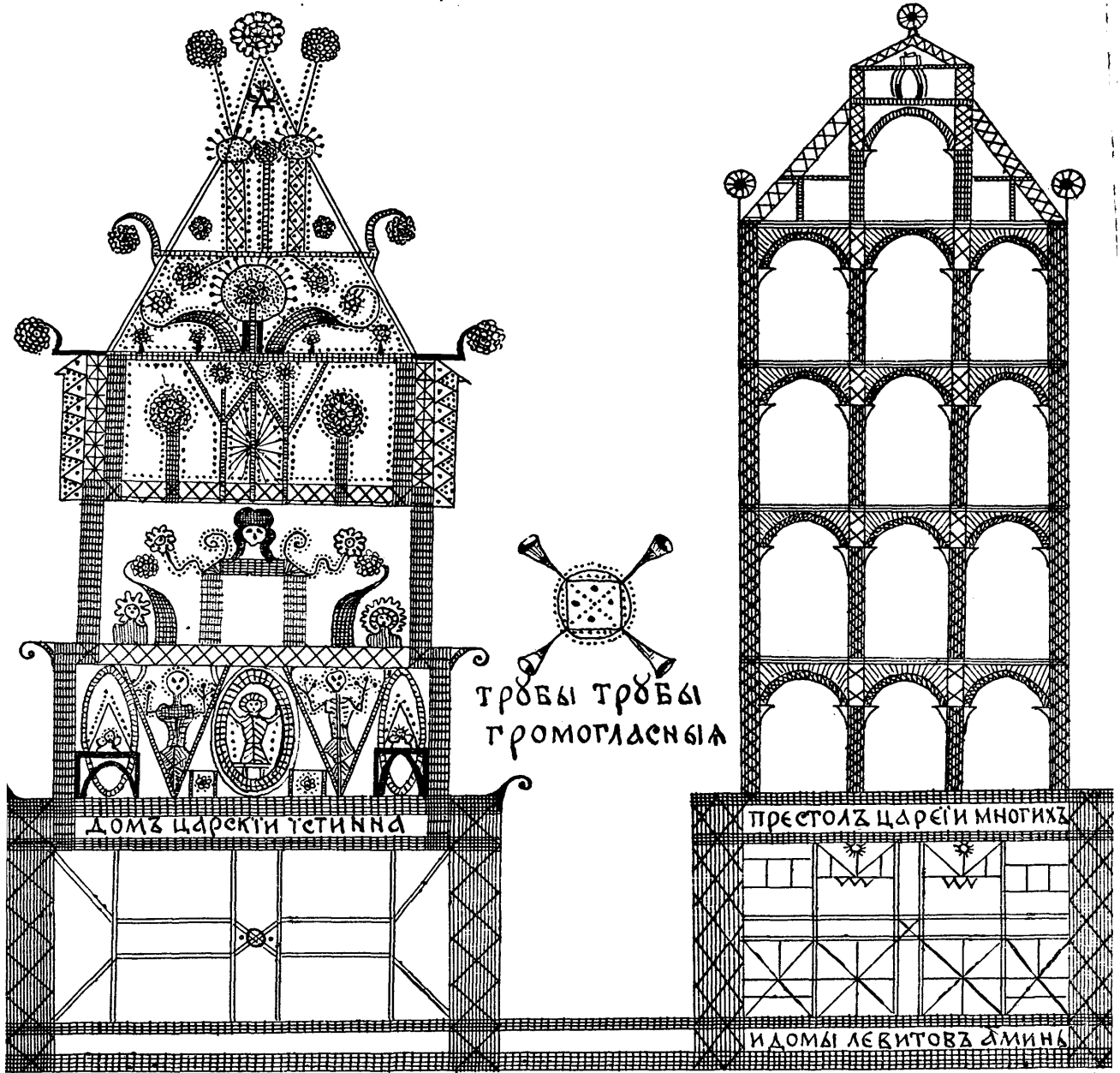


СЪСЪИМЪ АХЪ
(Holy Ghost)



СЪНЦЕ ВЪ СИЛАХЪ
(sun in strength)

PLANS DRAWN BY
EFIM KLUBNIKIN



Trumpets, trumpets,
hightsounding.

he House Of God's Truth.

The Throne of many Tzars and
the Home of the Leviathans,
Amen.

SELECTED PROPHECIES OF KLUBNIKIN

"CONCERNING THE WAR AND THE DEFEAT OF THE TZAR"

95. There stands a cut stone with its face turned South, two arshin (4.6 feet) high, $5/4$ (less than 1.5 feet) wide and $3/4$ viershok (1.3 inches) deep with the following inscription: In 1876, 1877, 1878,¹⁶ there will be a war between Russia and Turkey; Russia will take Kars and will spread her power right and left. Our people will go there (to Kars) and will live there in 1880 and 1881.¹⁷

After the war rascals will undermine the Tzar's power just as wolves treat sheep, but there will be no success. In a short time they will tear him to pieces in the open street and his body will scatter in all directions. It will be gathered together and buried right beside the bodies of his fathers.¹⁸

96. That was during the reign of Alexander the II.¹⁹ This young boy prophecied the Tzar's death 25 years before it actually happened. Our book is full of such prophecies. (An elder).

CONCERNING THE RUSSIAN-TURKISH WAR

97. To me, a nine year old boy, it was shown in sleep: an eagle flies from east to west, and to my query: how far dost thou fly, he answered with a human voice: I received two commands from the Tzar of Heaven, that human flesh is being prepared! I look at the place: and as soon as the third command is issued, we will eat human and horse flesh. Explanation: Russia will take Kars by war and will return it. (1854-1855)

I, in my twelfth year, namely in 1855, while I was learning to read and write, was imbued with the Holy Spirit, and I was in delirium, I wrote through the inspiration from above for seven days, songs, prayers, prophecies, sayings, and drew plans.²⁰

CONCERNING THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

98. The Tzar will go to war with China, and with the Chinese war peace will be taken from earth. In the east there will be a great war; blood will be mixed with water, and from the eastern world anger will spread throughout the entire earth, there will be a great cry and moan of the people, blood will flow unmercifully, a great calamity will happen and agitation among the nations: torture, distress, execution and oppression. Great flight from everywhere: into mountains,

¹⁶ Date of Russian-Turkish war; ¹⁷ Assassination of Alexander
¹⁸ Spirit and Life, 426; ¹⁹ 1855-1881; ²⁰ Spirit and Life, 424

gorges, forests and foreign lands. Separations of fathers from sons, mothers from daughters, husbands from wives. Oh, cruel death came down upon earth and spread her might to all corners of the earth, destroying the people with various afflictions and terrible starvation; execution and great ruin. God have mercy upon us, spare us from the terrific death and execution! Lord, Lord! Look upon your Creation, suffering on earth from persecution of enemies and cruel death, devouring the people, oppression and cruelty everywhere.²¹

The "prophet" has all the capacities for endurance. He also gets stirred up quickly, and like all "prophets" feels the influence of the divine power, "a power that lifts them above themselves and made them forget themselves in becoming its vehicles; they were experiencing in the strict sense what is meant by the word "enthusiasm".²²

The desire of the Molokane to follow a leader is so great that they have stepped out their own intimate circle and found "prophets," in men not of their faith. The story of the "Napoleonites" is one of the most interesting of these episodes.

98. Imagination can scarcely conceive of some of the strange forms under which the thirst for religious truth in Southern Russia was revealed. In this laboratory of sects, all the dreams of humanity had their more or less "inspired" representatives. Even the smallest town was in the same case as, for example, the prison of Solovetzk, which was usually inhabited by large numbers of sectarian leaders. A Mr. Sitzoff, who spent some time there, has published a description of this Modern tower of Babel.

It harbored, among others, a douchoboretz; a "god" of the Sava persuasion, with his wife representing the "Holy Ghost"; a chlyst, who rotated indefatigably round a tub of water; a captain who claimed the honor of brotherhood with Jesus Christ; a man named Pouchkin,

21

Ibid., 425.

22

R.J. Campbell, "Would There Were Prophets," The Christian Century, XLIII, No.6 (Feb.11,1926), 171.

who supposed himself to be the Saviour reincarnated; a skopetz who had brought a number of people from Moscow to be initiated into the sect of the Russian eñuchs; and the staretz Israel, a famous seer, who desired to found a "Church Triumphant" among the inhabitants of the prison.

These ardent reformers made a terrible uproar during the hours of exercise, each one wishing to convert the rest, and frequently the warders had to intervene, to save the terrified "Holy Ghost", for example, from the "brother of Christ" or the prophet Elijah.

Before taking leave of these and other equally bizarre products of the "great laboratory", we must mention the sects of Napoleonites, some few members of which were still to be found recently in Southern Russia. William Hepword Dixon, who visited the country in 1870, claims to have met some in Moscow, and according to him they were then rapidly increasing in numbers.

The Douchobortzi and the Molokanes were deeply impressed by the advent of Napoleon the First. It seemed to them that a man who had taken part in so many heroic adventures must be an envoy of the Deity. They conceived of his mission to re-establish the throne of David and to put an end to all their misfortunes, and there was great joy among the "milk-drinkers" when the "Napoleonic mystery" was expounded to them by their leaders. It was arranged to send five Molokane delegates to greet the "heavenly messenger", and five old men set forth, clad in garments white as their beards. But they arrived too late. Napoleon had left Russia after the disaster of 1812, and when the Molokanes tried to follow him they were arrested on the banks of the Vistula and thrown into prison.

The popular imagination, however, refused to abandon its idol, and the idea of Napoleon ascending into heaven continued to arouse much enthusiasm. Many of the Napoleonites lamented the wickedness of his enemies, who had driven him out of Russia, thus depriving mortals of a saviour from on high.

At their meetings they spoke of Napoleons heroic exploits, and knelt before his bust. It was said that when he entered Russia a star had appeared in the sky, like that which heralded the birth of Christ; that he was not dead, but had escaped from St. Helena by sea and was living in Irkutsk; that one day the heavens would be torn open by a great storm, and Napoleon would appear as leader of the Slavonic people; that he would put an end to all discord and, surrounded by angels and brave soldiers, would re-establish justice and happiness on earth to the sounds of trumpets.

"The hour was near." This cry of supreme hope was ever upon the lips of the members of the Napoleonic church.

But to become almost God was promotion of which the "little corporal" had surely never dreamt.²³

The following is a quotation from Livanov. He confirms this account with those of many writers and authorities of his time.

99. Gregory S. Skavoroda - Ukrainian Philosopher. The name Skavoroda is quite familiar to the Molokane and to the Doukhoborts who often times regard him as their Apostle. Skavoroda was born of Kossack parents in 1722. He acquired great learning in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and during his youth travelled a great deal in Russia and abroad. When after many years of travel, he returned home he found that all of his relatives had died with the exception of one brother, ~~everyone~~ whose whereabouts were unknown. Skavoroda took to the road and wandered all over Southern Russia, preaching the gospel of brotherhood of men and simplicity of wants. The Molokane took great notice of him as he too greatly disliked the Russian clergy. He was clothed in a very common dress, a bag on his shoulders, a pipe at his belt and a staff in his hand; barefooted, he went from village to village stopping for a few days at the Molokan settlements, and he taught them by examples of a spotless life. His food was always of the roughest kinds. In the summertime he slept in the garden under a bush, and in the winter in stables. When he felt his mission was executed, he took the Hebrew Bible in his hand, the flute in his pocket and went on. Many people regarded him as a queer fellow.

He spent his old age at the home of a country merchant. Many people came to listen to Skavoroda. One day after he had spent many hours narrating his past and expounding his doctrines, he went to the orchard and started to dig his own grave. He went back to his room, changed his clothing and lay down on his bed, with his hands crossed and a bundle of his compositions under his head. The following day he was found dead. He was buried in his favorite spot, but his body was transferred 20 years later by one of his pupils.²⁴

Milton's Paradise Lost is known to many Molokane as

²³ Jean Finot, Modern Saints And Seers, 51-54.
²⁴ Th. Livanov, 232-241. (Abstract).

"writings from the hand of a prophet." Thus they show their uncritical attitude by placing a master of English literature alongside a long forgotten German mystical writer of 1815, Young Stilling.

"In 1915 an English Methodist, Young Stilling, published a book entitled 'The Triumph of Christian Faith,' of which the Russian translation achieved great vogue and contributed not a little to stimulate the growth of mystical dreams among the Molokane.²⁵ It was a commentary on the Apocalypse, in which the Russian Church was identified with the evangelicalism which rejects the sacraments and ritualism of Rome; the Russian sectaries had no difficulty in applying Stilling's argument to the Russian Orthodox Church, and greedily welcomed the idea that Christ would ere long inaugurate the Millennium in the basin of Ararat,²⁶ the home of the human race and traditional site of Paradise."²⁷

The Threat of the Eastern Light, by the same author, is written in the form of dialogues in very powerful and appealing language. It is a discourse on religious principles, moral conduct, virtue, sin, with many interpretations of the Bible. The Molokane are very much attracted to this book, because of its appeal for "a greater belief in religion, for a simpler life for real Christians."

100. We especially value the discussion on religious ideals. The writer asks where these

²⁵ The books were originally written in German and published in England.

²⁶ F.C. Conybeare, ibid., 323.

²⁷ See Bibliography.

ideals can be established with greatest security, in Europe, Asia or America.²⁸ And if the 'Ugroz' by which is here meant Heavenly Father points out that America is not suitable for God's Tabernacles and the ripening of the Kingdom of Heaven. Neither does Western Europe qualify since the people in those regions have developed a sense of their own importance, egoism, and use liberty, equality only to suit themselves. Young Stilling points out that Eastern Asia is now coming into her own and has respect for religious ideals of true believers. The land which we have in mind for our permanent settlement lies between Turkey and Persia, in Asia. This land is called Urmia. The Molokane in Russia are now negotiating for land in Urmia directly with the Persian government. (A Molokan man).

Graf Lev Tolstoy left a cherished memory in the minds of the Molokane. The simplicity of life of the great Russian novelist had a strong appeal not only to the Molokane but to the Doukhobors as well. They found many things in common with the Russian author. His apocalyptic hankerings, his strong pacifism, his denial of the divine power of the Tzar, and many other similar attitudes threw the Molokane and the novelist into a common world of discourse. The wisdom of "Lev Nikolaevitch" appalled them,²⁹ and his power in Russia attracted them to him.

²⁸ Young Stilling, The Threat of the Eastern Light, VI, 52-55.

²⁹ "The only voice that dared rise against the bigoted policy of Pobiedonostzev, was that of Lev Tolstoy; on several occasions he made vigorous appeals to the civilized world on behalf of the Molokane, Dukhobortzi, and other oppressed sects and creeds. It was largely due to his efforts that the Dukhobortzi were enabled to migrate to Canada where they have been living according to their convictions. In 1897 an ecclesiastical congress was held at Kazan, under the auspices of the Holy Synod; among its bigoted resolutions which were approved by Pobiedonostzev, was one petitioning the Government to declare the Tolstoyans. . . a sect 'particularly dangerous for the Church and the State,' who should be dealt with as drastically as the most 'pernicious sects.'" A. Kornilov, Modern Russian History, 283-4.

101. A group of us young fellows wanted to get acquainted with Tolstoy. We knew he held open house for peasants, and we went to spend a few days with the writer. In the evening we would gather in his living room and he would talk to us about his books. His whole living room was lined with shelves of books of every description, there was a long stretch of red and then green and then black books. Most of the time he would talk to us about war. He would say: "Now you go home and refuse to bear arms and to go to war." We would then tell him: "but they shoot us and we have to shoot when we go to war." "Why, who would shoot you if everybody laid down their weapons? if all the soldiers refused to remain in the army? If ~~all~~ the whole nation refused to pay taxes? The land should be for all the people who wish to cultivate it without paying rent to the landlord who has no absolute right to the land." He said that he had been thinking these things out while working in the field, plowing his land. In the evening he would come home and dictate his thoughts to his daughter Tatjana Lvovna. In the summer time this great man went around barefooted, in a plain Russian peasant blouse with a girdle around his waist. (A Molokan man)

"Lev Nikolaevitch was a great man and we cherish his name. He wrote a book in which he laid great stress on the Scriptures. He points out that the Government is force, and that best rule is through public opinion. Family, society, self-government are in the natural order of things, but autocracy is an unjust imposition. (An elder.)"

While these outside people had undoubtedly a great deal of influence upon the thinking of the Molokane they are not classed on an equal footing with the "prophets"

³⁰ Lev N. Tolstoy, The Kingdom of Heaven is among You. The Molokan elder in the above interview summarized the chief points of the pamphlet quite accurately.

of the group who were "directed by the Holy Ghost".

The "prophecies" of the Molokan leaders are now preserved in the book of the group, Spirit and Life. The Molokane recognized that the control and efficiency of the group would be greatly improved if their precious traditions were written down and became a final document. The volume contains 485 pages; was published in Los Angeles under the direction of the elder, Ivan G. Samarin. His collaborators were M.A. Volkov, and his son, V.I. Samarin. This book constitutes the sacred writings of the group. It supplements, interprets and explains the Bible; it is an expose of the faith of the Molokane; it contains accounts of deeds and sufferings of the Molokan leaders; it is a brief history of the group; contains many songs, prayers, rituals of the group. The written accounts give definite and stable form to tradition. Maxim Rudometkin's prophecies, compositions, letters, songs and prayers constitute a large part of the book.

102. Maxim Gavrilovitch wrote a great deal concerning our religion. He wrote on questions of faith with prophetic exposition of the blissfulness of true Christian religion, of the faith of the great Adulteress, also of the battle of Gog and Magog. . . He was an ardent worker, a true worshipper, the Tzar of the³¹ Spirituals and the Leader of the people of Zion.

103. While in confinement he wrote incessantly on matters of religion, pouring out his heart and soul before God. We hold his writings in very high esteem and believe that the Holy

³¹ Spirit and Life, passim.

Ghost communicated with us through him. (A Molokan man)

104. To me these "prophecies" mean very little, but I am an odd fellow among our brothers and you can't take me very seriously. The way I have it figured out-these prophecies were written a long time before the book Spirit and Life was published. Everything hinges on a date. The date could have been easily forgotten or altered. And then it all depends what you mean by a prophecy. Tolstoy foretold the ruin of the Tzar. He wrote to the Tzar: "Don't shut your eyes. You are standing at the edge of a dangerous precipice, and you are preparing your own ruin if you don't change your policy toward your people." Well, the Tzar did fall over the precipice. Is Tolstoy a prophet? (A Molokan man)

A Molokan of the older generation who questions the validity of the "prophecies" of Rudometkin is indeed regarded an "odd fellow" and can hardly be considered a "true Spiritual believer", as he doubts the efficacy of the Holy Ghost.

The writings of Maxim Rudometkin may almost be considered an autobiography relating in a naive manner the uninterrupted sufferings endured during his nineteen years of imprisonment. These writings indicate a sensitive religious nature struggling under the cruelty of the Russian penal institutions. He says that "in his soul he has never submitted." In despair and under great emotional strain, there "arises a vehement appeal to God, the Protector of the distressed."

These appeals with all their fervor and intensity, have a tremendous grip upon the Molokane of today. The written tradition is a means of defending what is dear to

The picture on the reverse side is supposed to represent the Russian Orthodox Church. ".!a woman sitting on a purple beast with blasphemous names, holding the bowl of abomination, drunk with the blood of the Saints and the blood of Jesus' witnesses." ¹ The number 666 is the "number of the beast" and often ascribed to the Russian Orthodox Church by the sectarians.

"This is the road of the wicked going into Babylon, this is the road of Antichrists, on which their universal teachers go, that is God's slaves and sufferers. Fall down wicked one (woman on the beast), fall down quickly from that beast."²

1 Spirit and Life, 315.

2 Translation of first paragraph of the leaflet from Old-Slavic.

them, a means of explaining to the world what they believe in.

105. Weary of body and heavy laden broken in heart, but his soul ever aflame with the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, Rudometkin wrote secretly and against the rules of the monastic prison. He was denied paper and ink but we always managed to smuggle through to him small sheets of paper and ink in tablet form. When he filled up these sheets with the words of the Holy Ghost he rolled them up in tight inconspicuous bits and passed them on to our brothers beyond the prison walls. We have preserved sixteen booklets, a little more than half of his writings. They now constitute the most precious possessions of our community. When we left Russia we were unable to smuggle these writings thru the border. They remained in Transcaucasia in the hands of the sons of Maxim Gavrilovitch. Some of our men went to Russia in 1913 and one of them succeeded in bringing back these sacred booklets. A good deal is written in the old Slavonic. I worked a whole year, putting in full time, translating the writings into Russian. When I was a young man in Russia I worked as secretary to a Dukhobor official and gained some skill in writing. I worked steadily for a year editing, translating, transcribing these writings. In the evening when my sons came home from work they set up the type, and in 1915 we had the volume finished. There is not a Molokan family in the colony which does not have at least one copy of this book. (A Molokan elder)

106. This book means a great deal to us. We read and ponder over the words of our great prophet and hero. Sometime his words seem senseless, but they have a deep spiritual significance to us. They cannot be taken in a worldly sense, they have to be interpreted spiritually. In one place Rudometkin prays for "all his wives", who "gave birth to him". Humanly that is impossible, but spiritually quite possible. He pronounces words which no one can explain; these are the fiery tongues of the Holy Ghost. He assumes many names and titles which are commonly misunderstood. "I am Enfail, Savachan, Yulia, Tzar Ypes, the new Hebrew Messiah, and lawgiver."³² All of this has a deep spiritual sense worthy of meditation. Oh, this book cannot be exhausted in one lifetime.

We had some of our songs, prayers and rituals

³² Morning Star, 350.

translated into English, at great expense to a few of our members. We wanted the American public to learn our customs and our glorious heritages. (A Molokan elder)

107. About the same time Spirit and Life was produced another book was published by the Molokane. This second book is called Morning Star. It was also compiled from the original writings of Maxim Rudome-tkin, and care was exercised in giving the exact meaning and literal translation of the original documents. There is also included a part of the Book of Zion entirely omitted in Spirit and Life. (An elder.)

The Morning Star was edited by Mr. Pivovarov, an elder in the Molokan colony in Los Angeles. It is a less popular book than the dearly cherished book Spirit and Life. In general the two books are of equal character. The Morning Star seems to be better organized, but Spirit and Life is by far the better written book judged from a literary point of view. The latter is quite well written considering the literary equipment of the group. The style of the composition is very involved, the sentences are long, verbs are scarce and participles numerous. The content is interesting and sustains the attention of the reader through its vividness. This book is particularly valuable document for students of religion and of the psychology of sectarianism.

Old Slavonic terms and expressions frequently occur. These are sufficient flavor to literal-minded people. The personal examples of martyrdom, the capacity for endurance arouse the emotions of the people and feed

their vivid imaginations, and keep the religious enthusiasm of the community alive. The written tradition increases the solidarity of the larger group and serves as the best means of passing on the culture from one generation to the next. The masses fall back upon the tradition which constitutes nurture for their confused minds. They stand behind the leader, they back him up and boost him; they contribute their following. "The originality of the masses is to be found not so much in formulated idea as in sentiment. In capacity to feel and to trust these sentiments which is the proper aim of social development to express, they are, perhaps, commonly superior to the more distinguished or privileged classes. The reason is that their experience usually keeps them closer to the springs of human nature and so more under the control of its primary impulses."³³

Both the masses and the leader have a definite function to perform and their actions are complementary to one another. Leaders and prophets always command a following in the Molokan community. It is a comparatively easy matter for the prophet to arouse his subjects through his emotional appeals. The administrative leader organizes his group and demands certain action, sometimes involving a radical change for the group.

³³ C.H. Cooley, Social Organization, 135-6.

Yet this command is fairly easily carried out in a group where there is a high degree of restlessness, dissatisfaction with current events and conditions, and the people are in an everlasting search for the freedom of conscience and religious perfection.

108. Philip Shubin was a very active man in Russia. He had great foresight. When Tzar Nicholas II had refused our petition to exempt us from military service Shubin consulted Graf Tolstoy about the next step the Molokane were to make. He saw the inevitableness of our migration into refuge. Philip Shubin personally travelled from village to village preparing our people to leave Russia. He gave us the impetus and everybody who could moved. Of course, the Holy Ghost revealed himself through the singing of canticles and we heeded His mighty voice. (A Molokan man)

Selected parts of the revelation are here given as follows: ³³

109. In readiness should God's people hold themselves to go on the march; God will gather all the blessed. They will gather in the place of refuge and sing to God who is our refuge. . 2 And soon the trumpets will sound, they will arouse the waiting ones to start the expedition; many will be frightened by the trip and will seek to remain behind in the world, -and those prepared will start and take along all the joy; - then they will tell all the world: "Our rights are known to everyone and we do not agree with you." They will remain in the hands of the world and in the clutches of Anti-Christ; - When Antichrist seizes them he will torment them; and those who are prepared will sing another song and escape into a refuge. 3. Is it not time for thee, O Zion, to prepare for the expedition, from the dreadful storm coming soon; - There will be, oh there will be a fire, the revenge upon the adulterer: Babylon fornicatress, divine justice and punishment, and all accomplices will have the same fate. 4. The end of the century is approaching, in the East the day is breaking; there a bright star is rising, to shine for God's followers; God's followers enlightened and preparing together for the expedition; As soon as the sun had risen God's slaves gathered; they made themselves worthy and

³³ There is an attempt at rhyme which is not reproduced here.

started into exile, 5. We are on the earthly shore, across a stormy river; awaiting to be led into Zion we see the shores of a new life; He Himself will lead us across the ocean; In the glare of the sun we clearly see Holy Jerusalem; we hear sweet songs, and their tongue is strange; many of our brothers have already crossed over; The hours and minutes are passing, and soon all of us will be there; The darkness of death hangs over Russia and abundant tears are there; Divine justice in anger is executed. 6. Lift God's banner and join the expedition; Hostile legions will stand in force; do not look upon them, but flee into Zion; Hide in her truth, in order not to suffer with the world; and there is the Judge and everything is ready. He will judge you and shield you in the wilderness. 7. The Holy Ghost tells us he wants to separate Zion; His symbol is flaming sacred love; the world slanders and abuses us, it grumbles and reproaches; the Holy Ghost reassures us, saves us from our enemies; we will get that number as soon as we get started on our expedition. We will sing a new song and will go into exile. 8. Stand, be not downcast by war, remember Zion, exile will come soon; a gathering of Holy people; the Holy people will gather in loud voices they will burst forth; they will sing songs to the living God, to that of Holy Israel; God is our strength, He will lead us into a refuge; There will be happiness and joy, and comfort for all the Holy. Those who did not prepare will remain and shed bitter tears.

The last of the sufferers--Maxim G. Rudometkin, in monastic prisons of Solovietsk and Susdalsk monasteries, in 1858-1877 dictated a great deal thru the Holy Ghost about the destiny of the Christian Church and the going into exile which he poured forth in prayers to God: 1. Lead us away, God our Lord, all of us together from the rage of the last cruel beast Antichrist and the evil spirit of the time, lead us straight into a refuge, and the shadow of a new heavenly forest! 2. Separate us from unbelievers, and lead us away from this universal Babylon into a place of refuge! 3. Protect us, our Lord, and all Thy adherents from this universal temptation, as Your one large family, and banish the beast of the abyss from the face of the earth!³⁴

These canticles enveloped in a highly emotional tone contain just enough facts to give them meaning. The sufferings and the hostile environment of the true believers are constantly kept in the foreground.

³⁴ Spirit and Life, 320-22

CHAPTER VII

MOLOKAN FAMILIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The Molokan family is a primary group in which life is intimate, warm and characterized by "face-to-face association and cooperation."¹ The result of such an organization "is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and the purpose of the group!"²

Cooley remarks that the unity of the primary group is not of mere harmony and love but often a competitive unity admitting of self-assertion and various appropriative passions which are socialized by sympathy and are under the discipline of a common spirit.³ The conflicts existing between the different members of the Molokan family are universal to family life throughout the world and arise chiefly because of human desires for "security, response, recognition and new experience."⁴

The social soil in which the Molokan family originates modifies the behavior pattern, but the fundamental wishes, the internal social forces, play an important role in the activities of the family and its individual members. For present purposes we shall treat Thomas' four wishes as useful concepts, hypotheses. They are sociological analytical terms which enable to understand behavior, and are here used

¹ C. H. Cooley, Social Organization, 23; ² Ibid., 23.

³ Ibid., 23

⁴ W. I. Thomas' "four wishes."

⁵ Adopted from Pauline V. Young, The Sociology of the Jewish Boy in Los Angeles, Seminar report, Summer 1926, U. S. C.

for analytical purposes only.

The extent to which these wishes become an integral part of family behavior or the behavior of an individual depend upon the form of social control to which the family is subject. These wishes are universal to all human beings. In the case of the Molokan family the driving social force originates in the religious world, and the variety of expressions of behavior are typical of the Molokane, but the wishes are fundamental to all.

The wishes in wholesome personalities are more or less in balance and subject to social control and can be satisfied in a wholesome social order. Under "wholesome" we may understand any order which meets the needs of the particular individuals or group.

Every human being possesses the tendency to expand. Even the amoeba reaches out for new sensations. Youths with their restless nature go a long way to get a thrill, to tickle their senses, so to speak.

The wish for security is antithetical to the wish for adventure. The wish for security manifests itself in the property getting habit, in acquisitiveness. This wish is very strong in the Molokane. Their frequent migrations, their motives of simplicity of life, their strife for religious perfection are all manifestatives of their strong desire for security.

Recognition is typical of the larger group, while response is typical of the intimate group. Recognition

is sought from the group; response from a particular individual. The social control which seeks to regulate the wish for response is perhaps the strictest we have because of the high degree of intimacy which the relationship involves. The behavior prompted by the wish for response can become pathological particularly in the field of sex. In this connection the youth may be subjected to sex perverts who are trying to play upon the desire for response and are trying to exploit it. The older people seek response in public life.

The wishes are mutually exclusive in sociological analysis, but in any given bit of behavior they may all be present. The wish for adventure among the Molokane is usually satisfied in the recreational and educational fields; the wish for security in the vocational field; the wish for recognition in the communal life of the group, and in the family ceremonials; the wish for response in the family life and in other primary groups. When any one of these wishes becomes dominant over a person or group to the extent that they do not submit to social control and the other wishes are not given proportionate consideration and free play it becomes a pathological case.

Since the recreational and the educational fields of the Molokane are limited by their environment and religious beliefs the individuals may seek to satisfy their desire for adventure outside their own community, or within the community, but not in the customary manner, and thus create

a conflict within the group.

The desires of the Molokane are pretty largely sublimated in their religious life. Conflicts are kept down to a minimum in the Molokan community because their economic life is more or less secure, their outside contacts are few, the sexual life of the young people finds healthy expression in the normal family life, and the high morality of the group is a rallying point. Loyalty to group traditions is expected from every member of the family.

"The family is the smallest social unit and the primary defining agency." ⁶ The following interviews exhibit in part the social, economic and educational character of the Molokan family, its function as a social and religious institution. ⁷

The Family Group and the Molokan Home.

109. We lived on a small farm in Transcaucasia. There were perhaps fifty families in the whole village where I was born and lived in until our migration to America. Our family was not very large, there were only 19 souls living in our house. The head of the family was my father's older brother who was married and had several married children and grandchildren. My own parents had twelve children but raised only five sons and one daughter. My two oldest brothers were married and had small families. All of us lived together peacefully, honorably, contentedly, under one roof working on the same farm and making a fairly good living.

The head of the family was the manager of the farm and the common property. We all worked under the same management and control. My uncle was the first one up in the morning. Perhaps the babby (peasant women) were up before him and had breakfast ready before sunrise. After a brief prayer the

⁶ W. I. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl, 43.

⁷ The writer aimed as far as possible to have the Molokane themselves analyze their familial organization.

whole family was seated at a common table eating a hearty breakfast.

At sunrise we were all in the field, men, women, boys and girls.

The grandmothers and the very small children remained at home. The old women took care of the livestock, the house-garden, the meals and the children. In a large family where there is lots of cooking to do the younger women take turns in the cooking and thus relieved each other in the housework.

The young folks work in the field until sunset, cooking and eating their lunch out-of-doors, and coming home for dinner in the evening. We had our own meat, beef, poultry, cheese, milk, eggs. Our babby baked delicious bread and biscuits, raised their own fruit and vegetables, and thus we generally had plenty of good food to satisfy many hungry people.

My father held himself responsible for the welfare and the contentment of his wife, children and grandchildren; my uncle--of his family, though the whole management was a cooperative enterprise. Our father bought all the clothing even for the married sons and their wives. Some of these women could persuade their husbands to buy them fancy youbki (peasant dress), but they seldom ventured to propose it to their fathers-in-law. The women in our village did not weave their own cloth. They sewed their dresses, the children's clothing and the men's shirts, but many things were bought ready made. (A Molokan man.)

110. Our women are always immaculately dressed in clean white petticoats, light dresses, lace trimmed aprons and headdress; they always look young and sturdy. Many women spend long hours embroidering their head-kerchiefs and their aprons; they take great pride in their dress. They are usually healthy and strong, broad-shouldered, fine back, strong arms, full-bosomed, dancing eyes, and rosy cheeks.

Before a holiday, or late in the autumn when the chilly days set in, our father looked over our shoes, clothing, caps, etc. and provided whatever he thought we needed. Sometimes before a holiday we would ask father to give us a half-ruble, but ordinarily the children had no money. The family provided all the necessities, and there was no occasion to spend money in the village.

There is very little difference in the home life of the rich and poor Molokane. Their standards were all the same. The rich farmers had perhaps three suits of clothes, two overcoats, a shuba (fur coat), while the poor peasants have one or two suits of clothes. Our houses are furnished for utility, and

not for luxury. The home of a poor peasant is more crowded, but the essential furnishings are about the same throughout an entire village. In most instances the home is inherited from the past generation and things are added to it as the need arises.

The abundant forests in our locality made it possible to build spacious houses and barns. On the outside our houses resembled log cabins, but on the inside we planed the walls and white-washed them. At first we covered the roof with straw. In the heat of the summer we used to suffer from fires, and the straw roofs were replaced by mud roofs. Frequently these roofs were covered with green grass, and when a few houses were standing in a row, they presented a picturesque sight. Lately we began covering the roofs with shingles or tar paper.

We did not have any plumbing in the house. Our toilets were built out of doors, as in most country districts. We employed basins and pitchers for every day lavatory needs. The kitchen stove was a built-in affair, often times made of brick, and sometimes of clay. Everything was cooked inside of the stove. For lighting we used lutchina (resinous wood), but that was several generations ago. This process of lighting was not very satisfactory because the tip had to be constantly trimmed, otherwise it filled the house with smoke. Later on we used hard paper rolls dipped in oil or home-made grease. During the last 30 years we started to use kerosene lamps and we that we were quite advanced.

All these things sound somewhat queer in our present electric age, but everything is a matter of habit. When you look back fifty years in the past these things seem unusual. In spite of it all we were a happy, contented people, grateful for the blessings of God. ⁸ (An elder.)

111. We had only the most essential furnishings; beds, tables, benches, cabinets, trunks, chest-of-drawers. The women folk often adorned the rooms with ferns, branches of pine, wild flowers of every description. Our beds were always beautifully made up as well as comfortable. Big down pillows, soft feather mattresses and feather beds are a delight to sleep in. No matter how humble the house-hold there are always

⁸ Note the constant reference to their happy, contented life in their Russian rural environment. It may be somewhat idealized since "those days are gone forever".

fancy embroidered pillow cases, crocheted bed-spreads and fancy towels ⁹ in cross-stitch of black and red designs. Very few homes have pictures on the walls. On the whole our homes may seem rather bare but they are always clean, tidy and happy. (A Molokan man.)

Family Relationships.

112. We were pretty much attached to each other. We respected our parents and elders. I always had a heartfelt love for my father and uncle though they ordered me around all the time as a grown boy and even as a man, but they only had my benefit in mind. We paid respect to our father because he was a wise man, had much experience and was recognized as a good and honest man by the whole community. When any of the children transgressed against our parents we always asked to be forgiven, and the dear old folks would never let anything stand between us. In the evening or on Saturdays and Sundays when my father had time he would read to us from the Scriptures on the duty of parents to children and vice versa. Sometimes it would fairly grip my heart when I thought that in a moment of resentment I had wished him evil. I had a heart full of penitence to pour out before God.

It was not hard to obey our parents. Everybody obeyed elders. Our father was a kind, good hearted, cheerful fellow, deeply interested in his home. Of course, some children are stubborn, and they need harsh discipline. They love their parents after their own fashion. They are afraid of them and even fear to ask their forgiveness. There is always something standing between them and their parents. Some fathers are tyrannical, like my cousin. But if the children are not selfish the father is not overbearing. Many parents used to come to me to relate their troubles with their children, and usually the fathers don't understand how to manage their young ones. (An elder.)

113. Once one of my brothers complained to the elders of another family that father abused him. The elders pretended that they did not pay any attention to the young one, but they later called in my father and demanded an explanation. They all agreed father was right, and the young one had no cause to appeal. But father was vexed because of the complaint and shame and the ill-feeling at his home and he tried to smooth things over. Rarely is it necessary for a

⁹ This is the only form of Molokan art found within the home of the older generation.

child to leave home because of conflict, but in those instances the child is practically excluded from the village.

We were always more chummy with our mother, who was naturally kinder and tenderer and showed us more affection. She often protected us from the hands of our father or any unreasonable demands from our uncle. (A Molokan man.)

114. Children need discipline. God chastises those whom he loves and it is hard to discipline without resorting to the stick at times. Such procedure may instill fear in them which, of course, is not desirable, but it makes them respect authority. Beating is our last resort. The main thing is to keep young people busy. I remember when I was a small boy I was up at sunrise with the rest of the family, and after breakfast I was tending to the geese and chickens. I supplied my mother with wood from the stove and all the water which had to be carried in large wooden buckets several blocks from the house. On the Caucasus we had many rapid rivers and fine spring water. We dipped the water out the spring as it bubbled forth from the white rocks. As soon as I was old enough to work in the field I joined my older brothers and sisters in the farm work.

Early Spring was a delight in the country. We worked part of the day as the weather was too cold to begin farming in full swing. The sun shone for a few hours in the midday. The trees, fields and meadows gradually took on their cloak of delicate green. The hillsides changed almost overnight from a brown to rich hue of blending colors yellow and green, while the snow on the high mountains was still glistening in the sun. ¹⁰

Our life beginning with late spring and continuing until about November was a very busy one. The week days we past in working, sleeping, eating, worshipping God. There was always a crowd at home and we never knew lonesomeness.

When I was seventeen years old I was married. We marry young. Russian peasant boys and girls mature early and are ready to bear children at eighteen or nineteen years of age. There is no Law to marry young. This is our own decision.

¹⁰ F. C. Conybeare, in his book on Russian Dissenters, 308, says, "In the Caucasus I have passed through many villages in early spring and in late autumn... Everything is neat and clean, and everywhere prevailed an air of sobriety and quiet industry." It was a pleasure to see the stalwart, tidy housewives sitting outside their houses in the sun, working at their sewing, the snow still around their feet at the close of the winter, which in the highlands between Tiflis and Erivan is very severe.

The elders decided it was better to marry young than to be tempted or to transgress. Farm life makes it possible for a lad to support a family. We are a very fortunate people. Our families are large but God always provides food and work for all. (An elder.)

115. I remember my father told me one morning that we were riding to town. Two or three young men about twenty-two or three years old accompanied my father and me. When we arrived in town the young men took me aside and asked me if I knew what we came for. They informed me it was not suitable for my father to talk to his young son about marriage. He had arranged for me to see a girl and if I cared for her she could become my wife. The young men instructed me in sex matters. Of course, not all they told me was news to me. A young boy on the farm hears and sees a few things here and there, and he can put one and two together. And some boys and even girls are not as innocent as they make you think.

The girl I saw was good looking and quite foxy. When we remained alone she put her arms around me and I told my father I liked her well enough to marry her right away. We remained in town a few days, and when mother joined us we were bethroted. (A middle-aged man.)

I was only fourteen years old when Vasja came to see me. I was an orphan, and several families took turn in raising me. They were like sisters to me. I know nothing of my family. I never went to school and until this day don't know how to read and write even in Russian. When I became engaged I started to sew my outfit and we were married a few weeks after I met my boy-husband. I had no knowledge of sex matters. At first my husband frightened me but he was considerate and kind and all seemed very natural after a while. (The wife of the above mentioned man.)

116. My father gave a splendid wedding feast for us. It cost him over 300 rubles. He killed one or two cows and many geese. The women-folks baked bread for several days. It seemed that the whole village was invited to the wedding. I never imagined I would receive so much attention from the family or the brotherhood. ¹¹

We continued to work on the farm just as before.

11

The social status increases with marriage.

I received no share of the land or property. My young wife and I had a room of our own but everything else we shared in common with the family. In the evening I would take my wife by the hand and we would go to our own room for the night. That was the only time we were left to ourselves. Some families were more crowded than we were. (Middle-aged man.)

Position of Women in the Molokan Household.

117. When I was young man I rather dreaded the time when I was to be manager of such a large household. Of course, the wife helps and many times she makes up her husband's mind before he realizes it. Women are clever and have force of character, and the men in spite of themselves are dominated by their babby. Sometimes if an elder confides the communal affairs to his wife she often exerts an influence over him though he seldom realizes it, and never admits it. (An elder.)

118. A woman's lot is always hard. I was seventeen years old when my first boy was born. I had eleven children and raised seven. I had a child every two or three years. Every time I had a new baby I wished I would not have any more, but they continued to come and I felt I "was in for it", but I greatly enjoyed raising them and thanked the Lord for having them. In many villages we did not even have a midwife. The mother-in-law attends during childbirth and cares for the infant. I had small children and worked in the field with my husband. Occasionally I stayed home to take my share in the housework. When I was married I left my own home and came to live with strangers and had to get used to a whole new family. That was not hard because my father's household was very much like the one of my husband's parents... They treated me very well and I had nice children. Now I am 72 years old and am still working, still raising children, my sons' children. I work around the house the best I can. My hands are crippled from rheumatism but there are some things an old woman like me can still do.

Men of my age have long since retired. They think they work hard all their life and at sixty-five the children are glad to support them. You see old men standing around a-talking, arguing, discussing various matters. Women are relieved from work when they die. (An old woman.)

119. We try to be nice to our women. It is written in the Scriptures that if a man does not treat his wife well, beats her or mistreats her in

any way he brings her to sin. Obedience is easy in love. Without love the woman becomes a slave instead of a helper. Such conduct is contrary to the will of God. But you know the saying: A durak (a good-for-nothing, a silly person) is beaten even in church. If a woman is silly and does not attend to her household, and if the husband is quick-tempered he will beat her up. Sometimes the man comes home drunk and they start quarreling and usually end up in blows. A good and faithful wife will never let anyone know she was beaten up; a good husband will repent and seldom repeat the act. When they were married they promised to live in peace and harmony. (An elder.)

120. Conjugal relations should not be mere bodily relations. Only animals who have no immortal souls know just bodily union. For men, who are created in the image of God, such unions are debasing and infamous. Union between man and wife should be a union of love, a spiritual union. The Apostle likens marriage to the union of Christ and the Church. Just as the Church submits to Christ, women should submit to their husbands. ¹² And the men should love their wives just as Christ loved the Church.

But marriage must not be only a spiritual union for God said: "Be fruitful and multiply," and therefore, the husband should give his wife her due, and the wife give him his due; the wife has no power over her body, but her husband, and similarly, the husband has no power over his body, but the wife. The relations between husband and wife were established by the Holy Scripture. The Holy Apostle said: "Women! obey your husbands like the Lord. Men, love your wives as Jesus loved the Church." Men must love their wives as their own bodies. The one who loves his wife loves himself. And the woman must fear her husband. A man breaks the law who does not treat his wife right. Similarly a marriage forced by the parents is against the will of God, since in such a union there is no love. Bad treatment on the part of the husband can easily lead to the breaking of the union, and under such circumstances the woman is not guilty before God, but the husband will have to answer for his sins. ¹³

121. The Holy Scriptures do not allow divorces. "A man shall leave his father and mother, and shall

¹² Same account in The Confessions of Faith, 65.

¹³ Th. Livanov, ibid., 185-186 (abstract). Practically same account given in Sacred Prayer Book and Rituals, 19-21.

cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh." For the same reason that Jesus gave the Pharisees regarding divorce we do not allow divorces. After the death of one of the parties remarriage is permissible.

But the union is broken when love ceases. And why force their living together? We know the law well, and there are few divorces among us. Bless God in your own bodies and souls which belong to Him.

Do not go to meet a disorderly woman in order not to fall prey to her. Do not give your souls to a fornicatress so that you do not lose your heritage. Do not look around the streets of the city and do not wander in its blind alleys. Turn your eyes from a pretty woman and do not get absorbed in a strange beauty. Many are caught by a woman's beauty: love flames up in her like fire. "Do not commit adultery."¹⁴

122. We have always tried to cultivate the highest ideals of family life in our children. That can be accomplished through example and reading the Word of God. Whenever possible we would instruct our children in the words of our Teacher. We believe that boys as well as girls should know the Law of God. Many families set aside Saturday and Sunday for religious instruction of the young people.

During the summer months we worked most of the day on Saturday. We usually went to banya (bath-house) and got cleaned up for Sunday. In the evening we had religious gathering, and Scripture reading. Sunday Morning we performed only the most essential work attached to a farm. We went fasting to church. We returned at noon and had our dinner. Then we rested up somewhat and at 2:00 o'clock went back to the sobranie (religious meeting); and in the evening we held another sobranie. (An elder)

123. Some of the young married folks went to services only once or twice on Sunday. After dinner I went with my wife to the forest. All week we work in the hot sun, and the forest looks pretty nice to us. Oh! we had noble forests, some located on the mountain sides. You climb the mountain and below you stretches a peaceful valley inhabited by our own people. You look across a neighboring village and the peasant houses look like birds' nests scattered on rocky

¹⁴ Abstract from Th. Livanov, ibid., 186-88.

mountain slopes. The forests are scenes of many flirtations among young boys and girls, but they seldom exceed the limit of decency. (A younger man)

The Economic Organization of The Molokan Family.

124. It was natural for all members to work on the farm, for what else could we do? The property was held in common and we contributed our services for our support. The land or a part of the land would ultimately pass on to the children and the whole system would repeat itself.

When the head of the family died the management was automatically taken over by his oldest son, starshi, or his wife, or the oldest capable son. Many times the joint household would adjust itself easily to the new head, but sometimes the subordinate members would doubt the ability of the oldest son to manage affairs as well as the father had. In such cases the land and other property would be equally divided among the sons and unmarried daughters and each one who so desired would establish a new family unit and manage the best they could on the strip of land inherited.

Successful farming depends to a large extent on many farm hands, under the same management. Though you have many mouths to feed and many bodies to clothe, still the amount produced is greater than the amount spent, and the surplus can be put into taxes and new farm equipment. It takes a long time for a family to get started. They may become more dependent on relatives and neighbors than in the old joint household. They have hardly any capital, not even a complete set of farm implements and very little live stock to help feed the family. Where there are older boys the father marries them and thus increases the family fortune through an additional pair of farm hands. The bride always goes to live in the home of her husband's parents. Where there are small children the man very often goes out to do hired work to gather sufficient capital to start out.

Of course, sometimes the family gets too large in due course of time to derive a livelihood from the same farm or to continue living in the same house. In that case the family builds a new home on the same or adjacent lots, secures additional land from the government and a new unit is established. Here there is a surplus of hands and the father in those instances sends his sons to learn a trade, cabinet-making, carpentry, shoemaking, blacksmithing, etc. The sons are apprenticed for several years, sometimes earning their room and board while learning the trade,

and often-times the family pay the artisan for teaching the boy the trade. When the sons secure employment in the neighboring towns or villages they turn over the wages in full to the father, or rather the employer sends the money directly to the head of the family. The money is usually invested in the farm. Seldom does a peasant have ready cash. (An elder.)

125. It is practically impossible to get more than a living because there is not sufficient arable land to raise any surplus. The government allows several desatin (2.6 acres) to the head of the family. The land in most places is rocky, steep and sometimes wholly inadaptable to the cultivation of grain. The climate in many cases is severe in the winter and dry in the summer. Many farmers have a desperate struggle to raise enough produce for their own subsistence. They labored all summer for meagre crops. (A Molokan man.)

126. The province where we lived, near Tiflis, had a very suitable climate for farming and fruit raising. We made a pretty good living. Our barns at the close of the summer were filled with wheat, hay and provisions for the winter. Our stables were fairly large and we had a good sized dairy which was the pride of my father. Our family had thirty desatin (around eighty acres) of land. Our taxes were only 15 rubles and 15 kopecks per year for the whole household. In some places the taxes are higher and quite burdensome for a particular family. (An elder.)

127. In those cases the income can be supplemented through the sale of eggs, ducks, geese, milk, vegetables, and fruit. In some parts of Transcaucasia we could raise practically every kind of fruit, with the exception of the tropical varieties. In other parts they raise only apples and a great variety of berries. The produce is sold for cash to nearby neighbors. Merchants sometimes barter for produce. There was a small store in our village, a combination grocery, clothing, general variety and hardware store. My father paid the store keeper in grain for shoes, implements and cloth, but monetary exchange prevailed. We also traded in towns, 30-50 miles away. We would make a trip on horse and wagon once or twice a year, some families more often. Fairs were held in towns and the elders would take some produce to the fair every year. The younger fellows were anxious to go to town out of curiosity. I cannot say I longed to go. I preferred our peaceful living at home than the excitement of a dozen different nationalities each one jabbering his own tongue. We worked several months in the year and the provisions lasted until the next crop. In the fall of the year each household laid away provisions for the winter.

Our underground cellars were protected from the cold and we stored away potatoes, cabbage, beets, etc. and the more lasting fruits. Each housewife was busy making varenie (Russian jam), and preserving fruit. The men attended to the provisions of meat. My father let two or three dozen geese hang for many days in the frost and when thoroughly frozen he took alternate slices of dried and salted beef and goose meat, pressed them together and chilled them once more. After a while this meat was delicious enough to serve the most honorable guest. (A Molokan man.)

Winter Life in Russia.

128. In the winter time we used to have about eight feet of snow on the ground. In spite of the cold the winter in the Caucasus is very beautiful. The vast plains are thickly covered with snow of dazzling whiteness. You may ride for miles and not hear a sound except the dull clang of the horses' hoofs and a soft rustle of the snow as the sleigh glides over the road.¹⁵

During the winter months no farming was possible. We worked hard enough all spring and summer and all we cared to do in the winter was to rest. Of course, the stock had to be fed and the flour milled. We had sheepskin coats, fur mits, high top boots, and we went to the woods enjoying the beauties of nature. The forests were "kazenni" (belonged to the government) and if the forester caught you hewing wood he fined you, officially, fifteen rubles, but there was a good deal of graft, and when we paid him one ruble privately everything was kept quiet. We used to visit our brothers in the adjacent villages, and every two or three years we had a general Molokan conference. We were kept pretty busy even in

¹⁵ Sometimes a Russian scene is transformed almost overnight. The strong northern wind begins to blow toward evening and by sundown heavy crisp snowflakes begin to fill the air. The trees, the roofs, the fields and the whole ground are covered with a new soft flaky white blanket which increases in thickness as the winter days continue. Traffic over snow covered roads is most enjoyable. The Russian Troika skims along the narrow snowy roads, as if riding on smooth waters, over stretches of dazzling white fields. The sunset reflected in the whiteness of the snow is often compared with sunsets on the desert with its various hues of pink, rose and purple blending into gorgeous color schemes and producing shadows of contrasting tints.

Adopted from N.O. Winter, The Russian Empire of Today and Yesterday.

winter time. Nobody looked for further amusements. Our duty was to amuse our parents, pay them respect and it was our joy to wait on them. We sat around the house, the babby frying bliny (Russian flat-cakes). The neighbors came around and we sang and prayed to God and discussed the Bible. The Orthodox peasants employ musical instruments, dancing and drinking for their amusements. Outside of religious songs we have no other form of music, and dancing is forbidden. We associate these things with disorderly places. (An elder.)

Education in the Family.

129. In the winter time we went to school for several months, learned to read and continued our education at home reading the Bible. Our village teacher was an Orthodox Russian who gave us no instruction in religion whatsoever. The individual families paid him one or two rubles a month. Besides, each family took turns in boarding him. Our education was very limited. We heard many stories at home from the older people who knew some Russian history, some geography, but were especially well informed in the Scriptures. We received our practical education from daily experience. (A middle-aged man.)

130. As a group we have very little education. There is hardly anyone in our group who can't read the Bible. But at best we are "little-literate." The government never attempted to establish schools for the peasantry. It was against their policy to educate them. There were few opportunities for self-education in Transcaucasia. There are only a few cities around us: Tiflis, Erivan, Baku, Batum. These cities are widely scattered throughout that country. As late as 1860 there was not a single railroad running through the Caucasus. Tiflis, the capital of Transcaucasia, had two newspapers. No Molokan family was ever in a position to receive one regularly. There was one periodical published: Duchovny Christianin (Spiritual Christian). Dr. Prochanov was the editor of this Journal. I read this periodical a few times, but most of the time could not obtain it.

When we became acquainted with Lev Tolstoy he called our attention to several books which we prize

16 Among a hundred Orthodox Russian recruits in 1868 there were only eight who could read and write. In 1882 the proportion of literate people among the same number was twenty. Quoted from Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry, by Helen Bozanquet. The Family, 84.

Music Arranged by Mamie Thilo



Поидемте на Сионскы горы,
 Всѣ братья и сестры со мной,
 Посмотримъ красоту Оцеа,
 Сейчас
 Какъ дивно украсилъ насъ свѣтъ,
 Приклонимъ колѣны предъ Творца
 и хвалу воздадимъ Ему.

(Let us, all Brothers and Sisters, go to the Mountains
 of Zion. We will look upon the beauties of nature
 and see how wonderfully our Father created the World.
 We will fall upon our knees and praise him.)

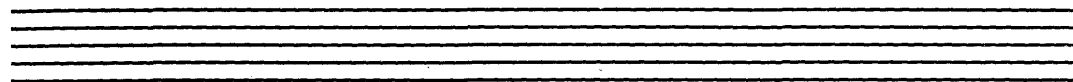
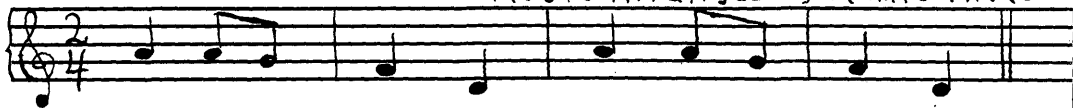
Music Arranged by Mamie Thilo

A handwritten musical score consisting of six staves of music. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and half notes, with some slurs and ties. The score concludes with a double bar line on the sixth staff.

Glorious Dove.

Песнь о голубке

Music Arranged by Mamie Thilo



Xpaopbe bautebe

Valiant Battles, (Spiritual).

highly: Milton's Paradise Lost, in Russian translation. Young Stilling's Victorious Tale, The Threat of Eastern Light,¹⁷ Livanov's Sectarians and Prisoners. The Older People take great interest in these books. The style is too hard for the young folks. We merely acquaint them with the contents of these books. I read practically all of Tolstoy's works. He was a noble man and a striking personality. We are also acquainted with the books of Shovoroda. To our minds these writers had supernatural knowledge and we hold their writings in high esteem.¹⁸

Very few Molokans have these books in their possession. One or two books circulated around among the older people of the community. I have never known a Molokan who had a large collection of books. One finds the Bible, the Evangelie, (The Gospel) in every home but few other books. At first and even as late as the end of the 19th Century the Russian clergy forbade reading the Bible. The German Baptist societies made a special effort to supply sectarians with the Bible in the Russian translation. Of course, our publication, Duch i Jizn (Spirit and Life), is very recent and was produced in America. We are very strict about religious instruction and deemed it a duty to teach our children the Law of God, but we (the older generation) have very little secular education outside of practical experience. Literacy among our women is lower than among our men, but all of them have received instruction in the Bible. (An elder.)

The Molokan Environment.

131. The village where we used to live had a very healthy climate in the summer time, and many foreign summer-resorters had their own homes on the top of the hill. The echoes of music and dancing used to reach us until late at night. Some Tartar pashas brought their wives, concubines, servants, and had a merry time. Of course, we hardly had any contacts with these people. They spent merry days and nights all summer long. These people never interfered with us, and I would not be afraid to go into any Tartar settlement. Our women and girls were terribly afraid of Russian soldiers and Armenian villagers. In one village, Bozartchaj, 200 miles from the nearest city, practically all girls were ruined by

¹⁷ There seems to be some dispute regarding the exact translation of this title. Sometimes it is referred to as the Menace of the Eastern World and also the Yellow Peril. The original was written in German.

¹⁸ A discussion of the influence of these writers will be presented in the chapter "Molokan Prophets and Prophecies

Armenians. We had no telephone, no telegraph and were miles from a railroad station. The Molokane sat in despair waiting for the government to intervene, for the golova (chief) to arrive. The starshina (the constable) of that village was Armenian, and the Molokane got neither justice nor protection from him.

We also suffered many insults from the Russian government officials. We had no court of appeal. Not infrequently cossacks would beat up a whole family, abuse our women and girls and carry with them whatever provisions they desired. Women with suckling babies were attacked by stationed squadrons. The Molokan men were tied up and thrown in the barn and the women were abused four, five, seven, ten times during the night by heartless soldiers and often by officials.¹⁹ (A Molokan man.)

132. We were surrounded by many foreign peasant groups; Turks, Armenians, Persians, Georgians, Kurds and many others. All of these people were poor because they had not succeeded in the cultivation of the mountainous land. We taught them to cultivate the soil, raise grain and fruit, build houses and be generally decent. Few of these nationalities molested us personally, but they invaded our fields, stables and orchards whenever they could. Many of our brothers woke up in the morning to find their crops gone from the field.

Our taxes were pretty high, and besides the government taxes we had to give the local officials a part of our crops or a cow, or a flock of geese, or anything they demanded. The constant invasions by the police, army and government officials were one of the greatest causes of our poverty.²⁰ No farming is successful in a constant state of restlessness, instability and fear. Many times we were driven from place to place practically without notice. (A Molokan man.)

133. (Another account). The province where we lived we got along very nicely with the officials and the neighbors. One of the governors was especially kind to sectarians, he was a reasonable man and we enjoyed freedom under his regime. We had a certain assurance of livelihood, built our homes and even prospered there. (An elder.)

¹⁹ V. Bonch-Bruevitch in his account Conditions of the Dukhobors on the Caucasus, gives almost an identical report.

²⁰ See Ibid., 9-14, for similar account of the Dukhobors. Similar conditions are reported by the same author among the New Israelites.

The Molokan family is composed of several groups related either by blood or marriage. The large family group may at times attain the size of a clan rather than a family in the strict modern American sense of the word. This form of the family unit is not peculiar to the Molokane. The peasants of Southern Russia, however, strive for independence, and their families are small, but in great Russia this form of family organization is very prevalent.

The large family groups with an elder, patriarch, at the head, are undoubtedly an outgrowth of serfdom when families were held in large units. The patriarchal family persisted in the agricultural community and was economically more or less self-sufficing, where there was sufficient work and support for all members of the family. The groups are held together by a common interest as well as by ties of blood relations. Land is a socializing force.

Static conditions of the Molokan religion, customs and mores are another factor in the preservation of the large family unit. The family of the Orthodox mujik, however has undergone a remarkable change. "These separations have grown so frequent that the number of independent households in the period from 1858-1881 increased from 39% to 71% in the whole provincial population."²¹

In the Molokan group we trace little change in their industrial or economic life, little change in their re-

²¹ S.Stepniak, Russian Peasantry, 68. (He refers to the Orthodox peasants only.)

religious and hardly any change in their social or family life. The Molokane did not develop a system of criticism and reflection upon established customs. Their outside contacts were too few and limited to arouse new social attitudes and values. Their interests remained essentially the same as their fathers.

The Molokan parents perhaps unwittingly recognized that fear is disorganizing in so far as it undermines mutual confidential exchange and shuts the individual up in a dream world of his own which he may ultimately seek to realize. They also kept alive a strong regard for public approval through various family-community ceremonials. They strongly impressed upon the minds of the young that recognition by the family and community at large depends upon the individual loyalty to tradition. Their motto: "Work is salvation" has in large part taken care of the youthful energies.

However, the Molokane were not able to guard completely against disorganizing elements of familial life. Contact with the outside world was a matter of necessity in families who had to supplement their income through hired labor. Usually the young men went out from the protecting wing of the home into the larger world. New personal needs and demands arose and family interests became gradually subordinated, though the individual may have turned over all of his earnings. A new attitude was created, a new situation defined or rather an old situation rede-

fined, and thus paved the way toward the establishment of a new value. The young man at first began to differentiate between the "I" and the "we-group", and later between the "I" and the "you-group", and a conflict between new attitudes and values was in full force. The individual may have never openly conflicted with his father-patriarch, but as soon as the latter passed away he sought his share of land and property, setting up a new independent household in which he embodied his own ideas of family organization. He may have reverted back in part to his customary behavior if the pressure from the outside was too great or his dependence upon the community was too strong. But some degree of progress was inevitable.

However, opportunities for hired work among the Molokane were too limited because of their religion, distance from industrial centers, intellectual equipment, training and social position, and, therefore, contacts with the outside world have been few and the inevitable consequences have been generally obviated.

Another disorganizing force is instability of youth.

134. Human nature is the same the world over. Our boys and girls mature early, and their blood is hot. They seek an outlet for their passions in disorderly conduct, in drinking and quarreling. (An elder).

But the early marriages among the Molokane solve in large measure these difficulties and restore family solidarity.

Molokane are not very demonstrative, but a deep-rooted

unity of sentiment, feeling and understanding exist between the various members. Sympathetic relationship, solidarity, good-will as well as good organization lead to family prosperity. The Molokane have recognized that fact long ago and not only "condemn quarelling and nagging, but forbid it in their religion." Well organized families are a defence against poverty and social ostracism.

"The long discipline and close cooperation essential to the community life in large family groups cannot fail to have a very marked effect upon the character of those who share that life; and this is consideration at least as important as that of its relation to economic production. Indeed, the two questions are inextricably mixed together, for economic production depends quite as much upon individual efficiency as upon organization, and individual efficiency is almost entirely a question of individual training and character."²²

It is hard to determine whether the form of family life creates or even influences the industry of the Russian peasant, or whether industry influences the form of family life, but it is clear that both forces have a decided effect upon the character of the individual Molokane. The invincible forces of nature have developed in the Molokane qualities of patience, resistance and endurance. Their persistent struggle of nature gave them strength of character and will power.

²² Helen Bozanquet, The Family, 94.

The older people foster these qualities in the young generation from the very outset, and in time the young realize the social importance of their elders. The father may cease to function economically, but the younger people depend upon his moral support. In this respect, the Molokans differ widely from the Russian Orthodox peasants, and more particularly from the Polish peasants where the children try to get rid of their aged parents who are looked upon as a burden in the family group.²³

The custom of retirement of the Molokan elders is rooted in the familial organization. The father turns over the common property to his oldest son who is able to manage the farm with new vigor. The father retires from active service, but he retains the authority, and by virtue of more leisure time strengthens his moral support given to the family and the control exerted over it.

The position of women in the family is much higher in the Molokan group than among most peasant groups. After the death of the father the authority and control over the property sometimes passes into the hands of the mother and she commands the respect of her children. With their high ideals of family life the woman is not "the slave" so often prevalent in patriarchal families. The marriage norm for the woman is obedience and submission to her husband, for the man is fidelity, support, and love. Love-

²³ Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant, IV, 24; Case 9.

marriages are very unusual among the Molokane in Russia.

The family desire the young members to be married, make the choice of the mate, determine the age and the time of the ceremony. "This is neither tyranny nor self interest on the part of the parents, nor solicitude for the future of the child, but a logical consequence of the individual situation in the familial group".²⁴

Second marriages are viewed favorably for the benefit of the orphaned children, but remarriage during the lifetime of one of the partners is practically unknown among the Molokane in Russia.

In marriage no rank or social standing are considered, but the qualities of the partner, and the girl's or man's family, since the latter become members of the larger marriage group. Social standing is regarded chiefly from the point of view of family morality, religiousness and social solidarity. Mental equipment is of little consideration.

Physically, the Molokane are sturdy men and women, broad shouldered, well built, with considerable poise and dignity. "The Molokan women are generally pretty and can be considered the better type of the Russian race among the peasant group. Their femininity, their bashfulness, modesty, and a sort of quiet repose, and even a melancholy expression of face are particularly noticeable."²⁵

Their steady perseverance, their thrift, their simple mode of living, their love of work, their physical equipment made the Molokane a prosperous group, where peace,

²⁴ Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant, I, 108.
²⁵ Th. Livanov, ibid, II, 293.

contentment and good-will prevail in nearly every family. Their religious beliefs and their ardent desire to live up to traditions pave the way to submission to authority and respect held for the decisions of the elders. When a Molokan rejects authority, he is conscious of rejecting custom, traditions, of "glorious past" and "chosen people." Their ready submission to authority is manifested in their attitude toward themselves. When a Molokan man, even at middle age, is asked for some information regarding his group, he replies, "Who am I, to give you information? I don't know anything. You ask my father or an elder."

The elders preserve the continuity of authority by constantly referring to the deeds of their forefathers. Old grey men of vast experience attempt to solve the problems arising in their daily life in the light of the actions of their fathers.

The Molokane have no ancestor worship in the strict sense of the word, but their anxiety to follow the footsteps of their fathers, their pride and respect held for their traditions greatly influence their behavior.

"The patriarchal regime harmonizes well in Russia with other influences; in a social order where school education contributes in no way to the precocious development of youth, where knowledge is acquired only by practice of life and of social relations, the old men actually have an enormous superiority over the young. . . The regime is

confirmed by religious sentiment; thus it is almost unknown that a son should make up his mind to an act of formal disobedience, and so incur the paternal malediction."²⁶

The familial organization, though a matter of custom, has certain advantages to the subordinate members of the family: 1. Individuals do not need to struggle for an existence in the competitive economic world; 2. They have the security of social position and protection against social and personal crises; 3. Their social and recreational life are pretty well taken care of by the larger family group; 4. The familial ties strengthen the character of the individual members.

These are some of the more important characteristics of the Molokan familial and economic organization. To a large extent they display the same fundamental social traits (characteristic ways of behavior) and are controlled by the same social forces as many other primary group organizations.

²⁶ P.G.F. Le Play, Les Ouvriers Europeens, II, 50. Quoted in Helen Bosanquet, The Family, 80.

CHAPTER VIII

MOLOKAN COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION

The Molokan community in Russia is in many respects a typical rural community with primary relationships and active participation in its life by all members. Practically all the primary human needs can be satisfied in the large family group, but for more efficient satisfaction of wants these groups join forces and form communities. "The community, including the family, with its wider interests, its larger purposes, and its more deliberate aims, surrounds us, encloses us, and compels us to conform; not by mere pressure from without, not by the fear of censure merely, but by the sense of interest in, and responsibility to, certain interests not our own."¹

Molokan idealism has led to a belief in a "natural order" and in divine (hence, unchanging) character of human institutions.

134. There is a power behind it all that directs our activities, specifies our aims and regulates our operations for the Glory of God on earth.
(An elder).

It is hard to make clear to the Molokane the concepts "organization," and "community" since they associate them with formal government. They deny the existence of any formal "government" within their own group.

135. We are never concerned about government, or "mir". Those are pravoslavny (orthodox) ideas. Church and society are the same and should not be separated. (An elder).

¹ Park and Burgess, The City, 104.

The social conceptions of these rationalistic Molokane led to the development of a kind of ^{demo}cratic theocracy. Civil society is the same as the religious society which is founded on charity, equality and liberty.

The most fundamental social institution in the Molokan Community is the church in which practically everybody participates. All action originates in the church. Even the educational and economic institutions are strongly religious.

The Molokan community in Russia is not based upon blood or marriage but upon proximity and a high degree of intimacy because of constant physical contacts coupled with isolation from other groups. Time and distance are eliminated in primary groups; all tend to use the same set of institutions; there is little sorting out in terms of specific interests.

136. There are two main things about our communal life. First we suffer and rejoice together, and second -- our civil society is the church. This is our organization in a nutshell. Our forefathers formed brotherhoods and we inherited their organization. Our fathers and older brothers were exhausted from many trials inflicted upon them by the Russian government. They formed brotherhoods which by the will of God withstood all attacks and attempts to resolve them. They separated our families, tortured some members for long years, and often whole decades, in dark damp casements in monastic prisons. These true believers were exposed to eternal solitude, everlasting silence; they were subjected to sorrows and needs of every description. They were completely forgotten by the Russian officials, but their memory continued among their brethren. Their beliefs spread like wild-fire among the Molokane at home, and their teachings were propagated far and wide. The government helped us to strengthen our bratstvo. (brotherhood)

136a. The poor unfortunate prisoners who gave their lives for their beliefs often perished without even learning the real fruits of their labor. They were saved from suffering only through death, and they now rest their exhausted bones under heavenly bliss. The stories of the tortures of our brothers have no count. Blood and tears ran in streams, but our brotherhood grew both in strength and numbers. We were terrified but believed that this treatment was due to the influence of Antichrist and bore it more resolutely. (An elder).

The localization of sectarianism among the lower classes, according to many writers, gave the movement strength and dignity. United by a common cause and striving for a common ideal the lower classes within their particular sects formed brotherhoods, characterized by a strong feeling of solidarity. Systems of mutual aid developed on the basis of this feeling which have withstood the shocks of competition, conflict and the iron rule of the Church and the State. Russian society split into two different worlds with no bonds of understanding and sympathy between them. "The thick wall which the 18-th century reforms built up between the people and the lettered classes has served as a bulwark to popular sects and superstitions. The Raskol grew and thrived behind the nobility's supercilious contempt."²

The activities and the whole philosophy of the schismatics were despised and condemned by the upper classes. But this very contempt gave them strength, result which which

² A. Leroy-Beaulieu, ibid., 335.

the Russian Church had not anticipated. According to Kostomarov, once the Russian masses were liberated from the lethargy in which the Church had kept them, their sleeping minds were awakened and they enjoyed the initiative and responsibility of thinking for themselves. It remains to be noted that when the Raskol occurred only the most capable and conscientious joined the revolt, and only those of the highest caliber remained faithful to it through all its various vicissitudes. The principles they advocated were those essential to all well ordered social and moral systems. The strength of the Raskol lay, therefore, not in numbers, but in the character of the classes which supported it and propagated it. "The Raskol throve absorb-³ing into itself the living juices of the Russian people."⁴

The hostile environment of the Molokane has undoubtedly created a robust communal spirit among their members. This spirit is farther strengthened thru "Love" and "Faith" which establish vital principles of simplicity, unity and equality. Furthermore, their whole communal life is a matter of tradition, and every member of the group is expected to conform to the practices of his forefathers. Divergence, individualization, great variety of interests are practically unknown in the Molokan communities in Russia. The tales of the sufferings and martyrdom of the true believers

³ F.C. Conybeare, ibid., 216

⁴ See W.C.H. Cooley, Social Organization, 28.

further enhance attachment to tradition.

137. In Russia we lived in vilages. Some were large and some were small. But no matter what the size we always had our bratstvo. (brotherhood), All good Molokane, irrespective of occupation, age, or sex were members of it. We all served the same God; we were all united by a common past of suffering and persecution; we all had the same aims in life-- to lead the good Christian life of our fathers-- we were truly brothers. (An elder.)

138. In the villages all brothers know each other pretty well. Our groups get together frequently and we understand each other quite well. We are of the same world: think alike, feel alike; we stress the same things in the upbringing of our children; we cherish the same traditions and try to conduct ourselves in a manner that behooves all good Molokane. (A Molokan man.)

"The result of Intimate associations, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that ones very self, for many purposes at least is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling."⁴

139. It is against our religion to quarrel and fight. Good will among fellow men is as essential as solidarity in your own home, if you wish to preserve the faith of God. We try to do everything together. Our ceremonies, our holidays, our feasts, are for the whole village, the whole colony, or the whole community.

God ordered his children to live in peace and share their goods with one another. During the week we work all day and there is no time for sobranie (religious meetings) but we spend the holidays together. We spend them in prayer and in doing good deeds. The Apostle Paul said: "Teach and explain the Psalms,

⁴ See C.H. Cooley, Social Organization, 23

the Scriptures one to another and with a spirit of thanksgiving in your heart praise the Lord." We try to follow the spirit of Christ who performed all kinds of good deeds on the Sabbath.

140. We observe Sunday instead of Saturday, in memory of the Resurrection. In addition to Sunday we observe the holidays of the ancient Jews. We broke away from the Orthodox church and denounced their holidays of Annunciation, Reformation, and the rest of them, and accepted those of the Old Testament. These holidays we observe according to the lunar changes. 5

Holidays are occasions for many ceremonials and feasting in the Molokan community. All members of the group participate, old and young men and women, boys and girls. Everything is skillfully and efficiently prepared; the food is distributed as if under expert management and or-

-
5. Passover, Lev. 23:6; Num. 9:5; Josh. 5:10, etc. During March or April.
Pentecost, the feast of the harvest of the first fruits; Ex. 34:22, Lev. 23:16, etc. During May. (Jewish Sebuoth)
Trumpets, the feast of weeks, a "solemn rest", a "memorial day of blowing the trumpets, Lev. 23:24, Num. 29:1.
New Year, from the creation of the world, During Sept. or Oct.
Day of atonment (Kipur), fast day, Lev. 23, 26
Feast of the Tabernacles, after gathering in the fruit. Deut. 16:13, II Chron. 8:13, etc. (Jewish Sokoth.) During Sept.

"The annual holidays are those of ancient Israelites, which were not abrogated by God during the earthly period, and were later confirmed by Maxim G. Rudometkin, and were observed according to the lunar moon; but according to the teaching of the New Christian Testament, namely-- Passover, on the strength of the Suffering of Jesus Christ; Pentecost the Feast of the Tabernacles, because of the prediction of the future reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years." Spirit and Life, 40

Th. Livanov reports of additional holidays observed by the earlier Molokane which have not been observed, however for the last two or three generations.

ganization. There are many accounts of their expertness in managing feasts for large groups, such as gather at annual conferences and other assemblies.

141. Anybody who can contribute time and money for the preparation of our feasts does so. We never solicit any money. It is an age old custom and we all know it and feel it our duty to offer our services and pocketbook. Those who cannot contribute come and partake of the gifts of God. They are in a pinch now but hope to have plenty next time.

We all feast at the church. We cannot bear the thought of feasting separately in our own homes, each family preparing their own meal, as on week days. We are a brotherhood and when the time allows us we get together and feast together, sharing whatever we have with all the rest. (An elder)

142. We are not rich, but we have plenty and rejoice that we can share our goods with others. We do not tolerate drunkards or homeless people, and that is why we are prosperous. "Blessed are those of pure heart," said our Teacher. One who is of pure heart will not envy his brother's prosperity, he will wish him no evil and will be willing to partake of his goods without undue embarrassment. The One who said "Thou shalt not kill" also said "Thou shalt not be envious."⁷

143. My father used to tell us story after story how the Molokane in Russia helped themselves out, how they combined their efforts for a common cause. Once one of our neighbors took sick. He was in bed all winter. He had a wife and four small children. Our brothers came in after dark and left a sack of flour on the steps, a sack of potatoes, some cured meat and other provisions. Early in spring the sick peasant's field was plowed and seeded. In the fall the grain was cut and stored in the sick man's barn. He knew that his brothers took care of him but he never knew which one; he never thanked any one of them. He fell on his knees and thanked God. (A Molokan man.)

⁶ See V. Bonch-Bruevitch, From the Sectarian World, Article "Molokan Conference at Delijan."
⁷ Th. Livanov, ibid., 183, (Abstract).

"It is this quality of our village self government that explains the high sense of humanity which forms so marked a feature of our rural customs, the mutual help in the field labor, the aid given to the poor, the fatherless and the afflicted-- which have elicited the warm admiration of every member of our village life."⁸

144. There is no "charity" in our brotherhood. "Charity is a disgrace to the community. There is no disgrace to poverty or sickness. Any one of us can be afflicted but our own brothers take care of the needy. We make up collections at the church. The elder announces that a family is in distress and needs aid. Any contribution is acceptable. Many times we gather several hundred dollars for a family. The elder administers the aid and no one else in the community knows anything about it. There are very few families who cannot take care of themselves provided they don't drink. (An Elder)

Widows and orphans are our utmost concern. God said to Moses not to oppress a widow or an orphan, for their cries will reach Him, and He would punish us and make our wives widows and our children orphans".⁹

"The common people, as a rule, live more in the central current of human experience than men of wealth or high distinction. Domestic morality, religious sentiment, faith in man and God, loyalty to country and the like, are the fruit of human heart growing in homely conditions. . . ."¹⁰

145. We have no lodges, no benefit societies of any kind, all aid is given through the church and the elders. Some time an elder may refuse aid to a family whom he considers unworthy of help. Some of our brethren are of weak character and they submit to intoxicating liquors. They squander their money, they ruin their energies and rely on the help of the community. If they do not repent and improve their con-

⁸ S. Stepniak, Russia Under the Tzars, 4.
⁹ Th. Livanov, ibid., 191 Abstract.
¹⁰ C.H. Cooley, Social Organization, 136.

duct they are not only refused aid but are reported to the local officials for misconduct. Such members are no credit to our community. (An elder).

"The Molokane are fully penetrated with the high precepts of Christian love and charity; but, with a fellow-feeling with the thrifty patriarch of biblical times, they consider the accumulation of worldly good. . . as a special sign of God's grace and in no wise objectionable in a true Christian."¹¹ The Molokane possessed two elements of power which are frequently combined—morality and wealth. The Molokane are frequently compared with the mujiks (peasants) who are almost invariably poor because of their habits. 12
 ". . . the Orthodox peasant is shiftless, dishonest, immoral. As there is not the slightest difference in the ethnic relationship or the intellectual equipment of these two classes of believers, and as the Orthodox peasants improve immediately after defecting from the Church, the change so brought about does not depend on the comprehension of the religion,¹³ but on the initiative restored to the individual."

By their high standards of morality they soon acquired a reputation of being the soberest, the most honest, and the most saving. Landlords were anxious to rent to them because of their cleanliness, their responsibility for payments, and their sobriety. Employers were anxious to

11

12 S. Stepniak, Russian Peasantry, 561

This remark is too strong and needs qualification. The Russian "mujik" appropriates things not with the idea of stealing, but because he has no sense of ownership, particularly of things which belong to his master's household of which the mujik considers himself a part.

13 Leo Wiener, ibid., 129.

hire them because of their industriousness, stability, and dependability; even the tax-collector considered them the most reliable and regular of all the taxpayers. They were known as the people who did not smoke, or drink, or chew, and who kept all their engagements.¹⁴

There are some records of Molokan communistic societies which attempted to share the worldly goods with their less fortunate fellows. These societies were organized with a view of eliminating the constant contradictions of practical life to the teachings of the Bible. "There is a good deal of sin in commerce," "commerce is not work but usury," are common beliefs among the Molokane of the earlier generation, as well as among many other sectarians.

15

146. A certain Michael A. Popov finding in the book of Acts of the Apostles (2:14) the expression: "All believers were together and found everything in common" demanded that in his community they had common labor, and that everything derived from this labor was not the property of any one person but of the community. From the very first he found many followers who brought to his feet all their property for which Popov organized a special store in Shemachin; then he selected twelve apostles and a treasurer. Later the property was not entirely given but a deposit of a tenth part was made, and in addition voluntary contributions of money and goods, (cloth, thread, etc.) were put on the table under a towel at common gatherings, and these went to the store. From it they gave assistance to the needy under the condition that they return it or fast one day for each ruble taken. In case the feast, (which consisted

14 For a fuller description of the character and qualities of the sectarians see A. Leroy-Beaulieu, *ibid.*, Book III, ch.

15 "In 1820 a remarkable man, Maxim A. Popov, a peasant of Samara province, began to teach the communism of the early Christians to his fellow Molokane. After several years of untiring effort he succeeded in bringing all his fellow-villagers over to his views. They accepted his plan of social reform and organization." *Ibid.*, 548.

16 Russian Encyclopedia, XIX, 646.

in not drinking any water and not eating any bread) was not within the power of the one who received the assistance, the latter could request of the community to share the fast which is fulfilled by those who accept on the strength of the words of the Apostle: "Carry the burdens of one another. "The community usually governs itself by twelve chosen people, at the head of whom stands a "judge"; on him lies the responsibility of explaining the Scriptures at the meetings and supervising the other managers ("the contributor," "the executive," "the orator").¹⁶

There is almost a complete lack of formal political life in the Molokan community. The political order seems an imposition where divine law is strongly followed. Church and society are one and should not be separated. Man-made laws are not valid. The true Christian should obey not changeable laws, but the eternal law of God inscribed by him on the tablets of our heart.

147. From the very dawn of our national history the Russian peasant has shunned intercourse with the Russia of the tchinovniks. The two have never mingled, a fact which explains why the political evolutions of ages have made so little impression on the habits of our toiling millions... The common folks live in their liliputian republics like snails in their shells. To them official Russia--the world of tchinovniks, soldiers and policemen-- is a horde of foreign conquerers, who from time to time send their agents into the country to demand of my one (sic!) and the tribute of blood--taxes for the Tzar's treasury and soldiers for his army...

Nothing can well be more striking than the contrast between the institutions which prevail among the lower orders of Russia and the institutions which regulate the lives of the upper classes. The former are essentially republican and democratic; the latter are based on imperial despotism, and organized on the strictest principles of beaucocratic control... On the one hand the peasant saw before him his mir (popular assembly), the embodiment of

¹⁶ Russian Encyclopedia, XIX, 646.

justice and brotherly love; on the other, official Russia, represented by the tchinovniks of the Tzar, his magistrates, gendarmes, and administrators-- through all the centuries of our history the embodiment of rapacity, venality, and violence. In those circumstances it was not difficult to make a choice. "It is better," says the peasant of to-day, to stand guilty before the mir than innocent before the judge." And his forefather said; "Live and enjoy yourself, children, while Moscow takes no notice of you." 17

148. In spite of everything we enjoyed freedom in Transcaucasia fifty years prior to the Russian-Japanese war or practically to the time we left Russia. The war necessitated military service, but before the war broke out we had considerable freedom from the government. When we were sent to Transcaucasia among the wild natives the government practically gave us up and tried to exterminate the Molokane. Our battles with the government ceased for a while but we had to fight the natives.

One day the starshina (the head of the village) came around and says; "The pristav (the commissioner) wants twenty of the best men, the smartest men of the village. He wants to consult them about the affairs of the village." Twenty of our best and smartest men went to the pristav. As soon as they arrived Armenian soldiers jumped at their throats and threw them in jail. The Armenians came back to our villagers and demanded all of our means of protection, otherwise they would kill our twenty men. What could we do? Maybe your father was there, maybe your brother. We gave up our guns. When they had our guns they told us: "We are going to have a big meeting. You send all your men, both old and young, no women and no girls. This village had about 600 souls. All men went to the meeting. When we got there a big army surrounded us and began to shoot. The men were helpless, were crying, begging to be released. The Armenians laughed at them and threw them in jails. Very few people returned right away to their families. Some men spent a few months in jail. Then the

17 S. Stepniak, Russia under the Tzars, 6f.

Armenians went back to the village and attacked our women and girls. Some of the old brave women complained to the golova (chief) who referred the matter to the uezdny natchalnik (the district commander), who referred again to the gubernator (governor) who lived in the capital of that district, perhaps 200 miles from our village. We never heard from the high official. (A Molokan man.)

The Molokane did not have to depend, however, on the local Russian government for protection and justice in all matters of communal life. Their own self-government constitutes a state within a state. The efficiency of the Molokan community does not depend on the number of social institutions but on control through custom. The sense of social response, recognition, and approval are direct and strong stimulants for social control in a primary group organization. The group defines the social situation by discussion, popular opinion and sentiment. It develops a group consciousness and maintains its ideals by giving them positive sanction. Even the matters ordinarily confined to individuals or families become a matter of custom in the Molokan community.

The community tends to develop a well balanced social order, steady, purposeful lives and loyalty to group. This is best accomplished through social opinion which expresses itself in gossip, criticism, tradition, and is formulated during social gatherings, conferences, festivals, fairs, ceremonials.

149. We are a very busy group but we know each other pretty well. Our elders have a good deal of leisure time and they spend some of it discussing the merits and demerits of our members.

They have sharp eyes, keen ears and very little escapes them. Should any misdemeanor occur in the village you can see the elders standing on the street corner and talk, t-a-l-k and discuss a wrong act and the remedy for it at great length. They try to keep it to themselves, but sooner or later it leaks out and spreads through the community. Many times the act is augmented, and if the dog's head is the cause of the talk in a week's time the dog has ten heads instead of one. (A Molokan man.)

150. There is one thing which young people in our village especially guard against-- discussion of their morality before marriage, and particularly girls. It seems that some babby (old woman) in the village calculate the date for the "new arrival" before its mother does, and if a child is born "too soon" the whole village knows about it and speaks about it in pretty plain terms. If a girl is seen coming home late in the evening she is talked about but her partner may come home whenever he pleases. (A young Molokan Woman.)

The Molokane observe the double standard of morality before marriage, but after marriage fidelity is demanded with equal strictness of both men and women.

151. There were no newspapers in our villages. I don't know of any village that did publish a newspaper. The capital of Transcaucasia, Tiflis, had only two daily papers. In the village we had little need for a paper as far as our own affairs were concerned. If anything happened concerning our group the news travelled faster by word of mouth than the paper would. You get up in the morning and everything around you assumed a different air. You felt, it, you saw it, and you could not get away from it. (An elder.)

The social ties are strengthened through the absence of castes, lack of variety of professions, and occupations and are reinforced by the common history of past conditions.

The social Hierachy of the Molokane is based on religiousness, experience, age, personal merit, and not on

wealth, family standing, or social position. This sort of social organization is possible only under the wing of religion where men will deny all honors for the sake of an ideal.

152. We reject all ranks, classes or titles. It is against our religion for one man to consider himself better in any way than his fellows whom God created equal. The only superiority one man holds over another is in his years of experience and wisdom.

The strong social ties of the primary group relationship, such as exist among the Molokane, are strongly influenced by the church discipline and custom. Their leaders, who for the most part constitute a very active group and are a leisure class, uphold the positive ideals of the group. The elders not only act as presbyters at the church, advisors in the community, arbitrators in disputes but they maintain the morale of the community. In a community where the only social institutions are the church and the family, the elders have a tremendous influence over the members of the group. "... in a society where school education contributes nothing to the precocious development of the young, where knowledge is acquired only from actual living and from social relations, the old men have in fact an enormous superiority over the young people." ¹⁸

153. Our elders are not our superiors, they are our guides and teachers. They have the benefit of long experience, the wisdom of their age, and we respect their good judgment. (A Molokan woman.)

¹⁸ F. LePlay, Les Ouvriers Europeens, II, 66, (translated by Helen Bosanquet, The Family, 15).

154. The only prelate in our midst is Jesus, all others are brothers. Our only teacher is the Bible. Our elders are leaders in the faith, they are advisors in civil matters, but they are not priests and not teachers, since they are not endowed with any special powers in that capacity. Our stariki (elders) can interpret hard passages in the Bible due to their long years of study and reflection. (A Molokan Man.)

155. In Russia priests work for money. When a child is born you have to pay money. When a couple is married they have to pay money. Our elders are not paid a cent for their services. Did Jesus ever charge for his tireless services? Didn't He shed His blood for us?

We are convinced they have our welfare in mind and we never question their motives or decisions. As a matter of fact very many people call upon elders to solve their problems arising in every day life. The elders are called upon to settle domestic affairs, disputes over business affairs, exchange of property, breach of promise, difficulties with children, problems of youth. The elders pray for the sick, they marry the young people, they perform the ceremonies over new born babes, they bury the dead, they give relief to the needy, they reprimand the transgressors, they officiate in the church, and are the friends of all. They set examples before the group for the good of all. They take initiative in all undertakings and decide on the movements of the group. Since our elders control and manage the affairs of the group there is very little work to be done by outsiders. (Composite interview.)

Most elders can be picked out in a crowd by their dignified and striking figure. Their sharp look, their white hair and long flowing grey beards, together with an erect bearing, directness of action mark them as the natural leaders of the group. They are usually endowed with a good deal of native intelligence and reasoning capacity typical of the peasant "philosopher." Leroy-Beaulieu says that the elders are neither theologians nor scholars but men of action, skillful organizers, who may almost be called smart business men,

who give the community stability and strength.

156. We choose our elders by consensus of opinion. When an elder dies and a new one is needed to take his place one man will suggest a certain starik (elder) to be our presbyter and leader. If everybody agrees we place our hands on his head and he is "ordained". If any members raise objections the name is dropped and others are suggested. The elder holds his place as long as he commands the respect of the group. He is always conscious of his actions and we don't need to point out to him why a community would not follow him in case he commits an act unworthy of his repute. He remains our leader as long as he is a true worshipper of God in word and in deed. (A Molokan man.)

The close connection of members, their steady simplicity, their high degree of group consciousness produce a collective mind. Very few Molokane indeed take personal initiative in private or public matters. Every enterprise is a communal enterprise. Some individual Molokan may represent the group, but all important enterprises are based on corporate action and approved by the entire group. They form large committees and usually choose three delegates to represent them, if the enterprise carries them beyond the limits of their own village. Three leaders went to see the Tzar Nicholas II asking him for exemption from military service; three Molokane went to interview Graf Lev Tolstoy; and three Molokane went on many other similar missions. Communal efficiency exceeds individual efficiency. The Molokane have the most remarkable ability to act in concert. An individual Molokan is almost incapable of acting without the group. All battles they fought were group battles,

and all the victories they won were victories of the group.

The Molokane are prepared to follow leaders. The qualifications for leadership are comparatively simple. Age, experience, practical wisdom, customary conduct, inspiration of the Holy Ghost--- suffice. The Molokan leaders are not men of training with highly developed faculties. If they have certain native ability, a certain temperament they are qualified for leadership in the group. These leaders are more articulate, are more easily stimulated, are more sensitive to the causes and consequences of social conditions. The leader is the community personified. In himself he sums up the merits and virtues of the group. They see in the leader a glorified reflection of themselves. Seldom, however does one leader absorb the attention of the entire group. Sectarianism is particularly a fertile soil for producing leaders.

A community can be considered organized when it is capable of action. The Molokan community acts thru the church and its elders, or church presbyters. The capacity to act has been demonstrated numerous times and has always been marked by a high degree of spontaneity. Their actions often generate on the spot, as it were. They have no press, no constitution, no by-laws, or formal committees. They face the situations as they arise. In this respect the Molokan community can be compared with the Orthodox Mujik's mir. "In our village essemblies voting is unknown; con-

troversies are never decided by a majority of voices. Every question must be settled unanimously. Hence the general debate as well as private discussions must be continued until a proposal is brought forward which conciliates all interests and wins the suffrage of the entire mir. It is, moreover, evident that to reach this consummation the debates must be thorough and the subject well threshed out; and, in order to overcome isolated opposition, for the advocates of conflicting views to be brought face to face, and compelled to fight out their difference in single combat."¹⁹

In the Molokan community this rarely happens, because of the traditional respect for the opinion of the elders, but sometimes "there is disagreement among the elders who settle their differences in single disputes.

"Always and everywhere men seek honor and dread ridicule, defer to public opinion, cherish their goods and their children, and admire courage, generosity and success."²⁰ This tendency is especially strong among a primary group organization, and particularly where "all brothers and sisters are of one mind". Regard for public opinion is very strong and constitutes a real force in social control. With the appearance of a great variety of attitudes and social values decay of social opinion sets in; conflict between the old and young generations becomes marked, and is often serious as far as the solidarity of the home and the integrity of the group

19 Stepniak, ibid., 3-4.

20 C. H. Cooley, ibid., 28.

are concerned.

In Russia the young people were early and easily impressed with the necessity for a secure position. In America, however, with external conditions rapidly changing, causing instability, giving rise to greater possibilities for individual career, the young generation preserve the desire for new experience over a longer period of time. A discussion of the disintegrating forces, especially the influence of American city life, will be taken up later.

APPENDIX I

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH OF THE SPIRITUAL
CHRISTIANS, CALLED MOLOKANE.

OUTLINE

Tradition of the Origin of the Molokane.

Semen Uklein.

Separation of the Dukhobors from the Molokane.

Limitations enforced by the government on the sect.

Expose of the Molokan doctrine, or the "true Christian.

teachings".

(This is in the form of a commentary on the Ten
Commandments.)

1. The Divine characteristics of the Spirit:

Truth, Liberty, Beauty, Goodness, Love, Power,
Life, Loyalty. These attributes are to be found
within righteous beings, particularly in the soul
and in the Bible.

2. Denial of the Trinitarian Doctrine. Relation of
God to men. Refutation of Saints, baptism with
water.

3. Condemnation of Ikons.

3. Forbidding of Oath taking. Sunday the day of
worship. Good Friday a Fast.

4. (no comment)

5. Discussion of the duty of parents to children
and vice versa.

6. Man is the image of God. Murder is a violation
of Divine Glory.

7. Discussion on Marriage and Divorce.

8. 9. 10. Consist of Scriptural passages.

Discussion on meaning of "Church".

Molokan Cult: Reading of Scriptures, interrupted by occasional comments upon meaning; singing of Psalms; Prayer and response according to Cor, 3:16.

Function and status of presbyters as prescribed in I Peter 1-3.

Refutation of Sacraments.

Prayers and Psalms.

"In Geneva in 1865 was printed in Russian a manual of the sect called 'Confessions of Faith of the spiritual Christians called Molokanye.' It is an account of the sect by its own members, and having been written in 1862 deserves to be summerized."²

1 See F. C. Conybeare, Russian Dissenters, 296-302.

2 ibid., 289.

APPENDIX II

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF
SPIRIT AND LIFE¹

	pp.
Instead of preface	3
Origin of the Molokan Religion	7
Uklein and Dalmatov, disseminators of the Faith	10
Exile and Migration to the Caucasus	14
The Religion of the Spirirual Jumpers and their sufferings	118
Sufferings and Imprisonments FIRST BOOK	30
Inscription. Division of the chosen from the unfaith- ful. Dictation of the Spirit. The writer of the seven heavens	43
The prophecy of the appearance of the colored beast	54
The call to the Kingdom of Heaven	60
The End of the peaceful Tzardom	75
SECOND BOOK	
Explanation of the knowledge of God of Gods, read- ing for the New Israel	79
Poem of the Tzar of the Spirits	82
Song and Prayer of the chosen	85
Description of three periods	95
Universal Judgment. Resurrection of the dead	107

¹ Adapted and abridged: Spirit and Life 331-34

God-sent messenger. Restoration of God of gods	111
The Fountain of Life. About the Spirit. The writer of the Book	113

THIRD BOOK

The call into the kingdom of peace. The prophecies of the epistles	116
Poem of the ancient world. Song	120
Explanation of the Holy Scriptures	121
About the Book of Apocalypsy. About military service	132
The End of the beastly kingdom. Gog and Magog	134
The Faith of the Blessed people	138
About the writer (Rudometkin)	140

FOURTH BOOK

The letter to the city of peace and corruption	145
The Song of the bloody city. The messenger of love	154
Prayers for food. The woman arrayed in the Sun	161
The heavenly star. God's messenger	167

FIFTH BOOK

Excerpts from the heavenly journal. The Church of New Israel	169
About water baptism	178
The accusation of the purple woman and the whole outward world of impiety	194
The New Uliar. The mysteries of the book.	199

SIXTH BOOK		pp.
The cedar tree of Lebanon. The garden of growth		205
The prophecies of the prayerbook		212
Daily songs and prayers		218
Songs and prayers for daily food		225
Songs after returning home		226

SEVENTH BOOK		
Prayer of secret words. Call of the spirit		230
Songs for the three sufferers		231
The strength of the sufferer Maxim (Rudometkin)		241
Song of congratulation. Reward for victory		250
The Tzar's table. The two churches		252
The Church of the Spiritual Molokane		256
Captain Ilin. The white horse and Armegeddon		260

EIGHTH BOOK		
Divine title. Brief result		264
Supreme decree. Reading for New Israel		269
Parable of Jesus Christ. Chief members of Zion		277
Divine power. Merits and honor of men		283
Gogs and Magogs. Universal court of God		286
The writer. His flight beyond seven heavens		295

First Part

For the wise reader. Change of times		296
Good and evil. Fall of the ancient world		300
Song of victory		310
Migration to America. Petition to the Tzar.		
Refusal		315

	pp.
The beginning and end of migration	322
Life in refuge in America	324
The last march into the kingdom of Heaven. Songs	327

TABLE OF CONTENTS. SENTENCES OF DAVID ESEEVICH
AND OF EFIM GERASIMOVITCH KLUBNIKIN

The book of Zion. Preface and pedigree	337
About the soul. Prayer, Deliberation, Division, Signs	342
The expansion of the Holy Ghost upon Jerusalem. Parting. Affliction to the world.	352
About the witnesses, Coming of Christ, Kingdom	360
The Spiritual Mirror. Ten Commandments explained	372
Sayings for friends, Prayers for fear, and parting	380
Prayer after sorrow, Deliverance. Gratitude	382
Miraculous liberation. Prayers for changes of life and happiness	384
Question and answer of friends. To all brothers. Ranks. Prophecy. Conclusion. To maidens and widows	390
Regarding birth. Sickness. Death. Sins	394
Regarding presbyters. Home Church. Self-circum- spection.	397
Regarding Spiritual envy. Familial narration. 12 friends	400
Origin of the faith. About the pillars of the church	406
Letters of Lukian Petrov and David Eseevitch	411
Supplement to prophets and writer	422

The tale of Zion. From the editor	pp. 424
About war. Departure of peace from the earth	424
<hr/>	
About the awakèning of the faithful. About the war and the Tzar. About the dawn and the march	425
About the division. About the sufferers. About life	434
About the march. About the cruel death	437
About the faithful. About the trumpet of Archangel. About souls	438
Charity; Sufferings; Southern Gates	440
Defence; Waves; Waters; Dispersion of untruth	442
Enemy; Pups; Cooling; Felicity	444
Life; Separation; Grave of Abel	446
Escape; Glory, Retreat; Pity	448
Penitence; Appearance in sleep and visions	452
Plans 1-17	455-474
Prophecy of A. T. Beziaev; The voice of God to the chosen people	483
Three songs about the sufferers and victory ²	484

This table of contents of the Molokan publication Spirit and Life indicates the variety of subjects touched upon by the members of the group. It also serves as an indication of the organization of the book.

² Spirit and Life, 487-88.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCE MATERIAL:

Confessions of Faith of the Spiritual Christians, called Molokane.

By Members of Sect. (Russian). Geneva, Switzerland, 1865.

Foundations of the Molokane Doctrine, drawn up at General Congress

at Astrakhanka, 1905. (Russian).

Klubnikin, Efim, Plans, (Old Slavonic and Russian). Raduga print

ing Co., Los Angeles, 1915.

Prochanov. Dr., Ed., Duchovny Christianin, (Spiritual Christian),

Periodical, (Russian). Moscow and Tiflis.

Rudometkin, Maxim G., Duch i Jizn, (Spirit and Life), (Russian),

Raduga Printing Co., Los Angeles, 1915.

Rudometkin, Maxim G., Utrenniaja Zvezda, (Morning Star), (Russian)

Raduga Printing Co., Los Angeles, 1915.

Rudometkin, Maxim G., Sacred Prayer Book and Rituals. Distributed

by the Russian-American Colony, Glendale, Ariz., 1915.

Russian Herald, (weekly paper), (Russian). Joseph Polonski, Ed.

Los Angeles, 1925.

Uklein, S. M., Expose of Teachings of the Molokane, edited by Membe

of the Sect, (Russian), 1798 (?).

Young, Pauline V., Personal Interviews, in Boys Work Survey File.

(Manuscript).

Titles of Russian books known in English are given in English only. Titles translated by writer are given both in Russian and English.

SECONDARY AUTHORITIES

- * Anderson, Vladimir, Orthodoxism and Sectarianism, (Russian);
V. I. Gubinski, St. Petersburg, 1908.
- Andriev, The Raskol and its Significance in Russian Popular History. (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1870.
- Alexinsky, Gregor, Modern Russia, Translated by Bernard Miall,
Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1813.
- * Aristov, N., Structure of Raskolnik Commune, (Russian), St.
Petersburg, 1863.
- Baring, Maurice, The Russian People, George H. Doran, New York,
(n. d.)
- Blunt, John Henry, Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastic-
al Parties and Schools of Religious Thought, Art. "Molokane-
nes." Rivingston, Waterloo Place, London, 1886.
- Bonch-Bruevitch, Vladimir, Materialy k Istorii i Izutcheni
Russkovo Sectanstva, (Materials for the History and
Study of Russian Sectarianism). (Russian), vols. 1-7,
V. M. Wolf, St. Petersburg, 1908- 1916.
- Butkevitch, T. A. A Survey of Russian Sects and their De-
nominations, (Russian), Kharkov, 1915.
- Canney, Maurice H. An Encyclopedia of Religions, "The Molokaneh",
E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1921.
- Conybeare, F. C. Russian Dissenters, Harvard University Press,
- Cambridge, 1921.
- *Cunningham, John, The Quakers, Edinborough, 1868.
- Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, Articles "Russian Sects",
"Molokany" by Aurelio Palmieri, New York, 1923.

- Dixon, William H., Free Russia, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1870.
- * Eltington, Joseph, The Dukhobors, Their History in Russia and Migration to Canada, Encyclopedia Britanica, Articles "Molokane," "Russia", "Tolstoy".
- Finot, Jean, Modern Saints and Seers, translated by Ivan Marrett, W. Rider and Sons, London, 1920.
- * Grigoriev, V. N., The Molokane of Rananburg, "In Russian Thought" (Russian), Moscow, 1884.
- Hastings, James, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, Article "Molokane". Ghas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1916.
- von Haxthausen, Baron August, Transcaucasia, Chapman and Hall, London, 1854.
- von Haxthausen, Baron August, Studien uber Russland, (German), I, Hahn'sche Hanover, 1847., and vol. III, B. Behr, Berlin, 1852.
- von Haxthausen, Baron August, The Russian Empire, London, 1856.
- Heard, Albert F. The Russian Church and Russian Dissent, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1887.
- * Herzog-Hauch, Real Encyclopedie, Art. "Raskolniken" (German),
- Hostetter, Ella, Verifications of Some Attitudes and Values in the Molokan Culture, 1925. (Manuscript), (in U. S. C. file
- Ivanovski, N., History of Russian Raskol, (Russian), 2 vols, Kazan, 1895-97.
- Jarintzoff, Madame N., Russia, The Country of Extremes, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1914.
- * Kalniev, M. Ed., The Russian Sectarrians, their Doctrines, and Modes of Propaganda, Russian, Odessa, 1911.

- Kennard, Howard P., Russian Yearbook, 1912, Eyre and Spottinswoode, Ltd. London.
- Kluchevski, V. O., Course of Russian History. Translated by C. J. Hogarth, London, 1911.
- Korsakov, V. V., The Molokane, in Russian Herald, Moscow, 1886, vol. 181. (Russian) .
- Kostomarov, H. I. Memoirs of Fatherland, (Periodical), (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1867-1870.
- Kostomarov, Nicholas, Russian History in Biographies, 5 vols. (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1863.
- Kornilov, Alexander, Modern Russian History, 2 vols., Translated by Alexander S. Kaun, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1916.
- Kovalevski, M., Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia, London, 1890.
- Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole, The Empire of the Tzars and the Russians, vol. III, Translated by Zenaide A. Ragozm, G. P. Putnam's Sons, London, 1902.
- Liprandi, J. V., Raskolniki, (Russian), St. Petersburg 1872.
- Livanov, TH. V., Raskolniki i Ostrozhniki, (Dissenters and Prisoners), (Russian), M. Chan, St. Petersburg, 1972.
- *Macarius, History of the Raskol, Kelsev, 1889.
- Mavor, James, An Economic History of Russia, 2 vols, J. M. Dent, and Sons, New York, 1925.
- *Miliukov, Paul, Outlines of Russian Civilization, 4th Edition.

- Messenger of Europe, (Russian), (Periodical,) Moscow, 1871.
- National Memoirs, (Periodical), (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1870.
- New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia, vol. X, Article "Molokane", Funk and Wagnalis Co., New York,
- *Novitzki, Orest, The Dukhobors, Their History and Religion, (Russian).
- Orthodox Discourse, (Periodical), (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1858.
- Orthodox Review, (Periodical), (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1867.
- Ostromyslenski, A. E., Molokan Sect, (Russian), Synodal, St. Petersburg, 1908.
- Palmer, Francis, H. E., Russian Life in Town and Country, G. P. Putnams Sons, New Yrok, 1901.
- Elptnikov, A. History of Russian Raskol, St. Petersburg, 1905.
- Prugavin, A. S., The Raskol and Sectarianism, (Russian), Moscow, 1905.
- Prugavin, A. S., Monestic Prisons and Prisoners, (Russian), Moscow, 1907.
- Ralston, W. R. S., Songs of the Russian People, London, 1872.
- Rambaud, Alfred Nicholas, History of Russia, Translated by L. E. Lang, Boston, Estes, C 1882.
- Russian Encyclopedia, Articles: "Molokane," "Dukhobortzi," "Subbotniki," "Tolstoy", "Raskolniki," (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1896.

- Russkaja Mysl, (Russian), (Russian Thought), Article,
"The Significance of Sectarianism in Russian National
Life", (Periodical), St. Petersburg, 1881.
- Ruskoje Slovo, (Russian), (Russian Thought), Article,
"Stary Emigrant," (The Old Emigrant), (Periodical,)
New York, 1912.
- Sacharov, N., The Guide to the Literature of the Raskol,
(Russian), Second Edition. St. Petersburg.
- von Schierband, Wolf, Russia, Her Strength and Her Weakness,
G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1904.
- Shchapov, A. Russian Raskol, Russian, Kazan, 1859.
- Skvorzov, B. M., Zakony o Raskolnikach, (Laws Concerning
the Raskolniks, Moscow, 1903.
- *Soloviov, V. L'Eglise Russe et L'Eglise Universal, (French),
(The Russian Church and the Universal Church.) Paris, n.d.
- Soloviov S. M., History of Russia from Earliest Times, Moscow,
1851- 1878.
- Sokolov, Lilian, The Russians in Los Angeles, Sociological
Monograph No. 11, University of Southern California
Press, Los Angeles, 1918.
- Stack, Wicliffe, Social Values of Molokan Religion, Manuscript
1924.
- Statistical Tables of the Russian Empire, (Russian), Publish-
ed by Ministry of Interior, St. Petersburg, 1863.
- Stepniak, (Pseud. Sergins Kravchinskii), Russian Peasantry,
E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1905.
- Stepniak, (pseud. same as above), Russia under the Tzars,
Chas. Scribner and Sons, New York, 1885.

- Stilling, Young, (John Henry), Ugroz Svietovostoka, (The Threat Of the Eastern Light, also translated sometimes as Menace of the Eastern World) translated from German by "U..M." St. Petersburg, 1813. (Russian).
- Stilling, Young, The Victorious Tale, ST. Petersburg, 1826.
- Tolstoy, Graf Lev Nikolaevitch, The Kingdom of God is among You, Vladimir Tchertkov, London, 1898. (Russian).
- Tchertkov, A., Conditions of the Dukhobors in the Caucasus, (Russian), London, 1901.
- *Uzov, I., Russkie Dissidenty, (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1881.
- Van Waters, Miriam, Youth in Conflict, Republic Publishing Co., New York, 1925.
- Voljanin, Volga Motives, (Poems), (Russian), published by author, Los Angeles, 1925.
- Varadinov, D., History of Ministry of Internal Affairs, (Russian), vol., VIII, St. Petersburg.
- Villchur, Mark, Russians in America, (Russian), First Russian Publishers in America, New York, n.d.
- Wallace, Sir Donald Mackenzie, Russia, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1905.
- Wiener, Leo, An Interpretation of the Russian People, New York, 1915.
- Winter, Nevin O., The Russian Empire of To-day and Yesterday, L. C. Page, and Co., Boston, 1913.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON METHOD OF SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

- Anderson, Nels, The Hobo, The University of Chicago Press,
Chicago, 1923.
- Bosanquet, Helen, The Family, The Macmillan Co., 1923.
- Burgess, Earnest W., Materials on the Family, (Mimeographed,)
- Case, Clarence, M., Outlines of Introductory Sociology, Harcourt
Brace and Co., New York, 1924.
- Case, Clarence M., Non-Violent Coersion, The Century Co., 1923.
- Cooley, C. H., Social Organization, Charles Scribner and Sons,
New York, 1915.
- Galpin, C. J., Rural Life, New York, 1918.
- Goldenweiser, A. A., Early Civilization, Alfred A. Knoff, 1922.
- Park and Burgess, W. E., Introduction to the Science of Sociology.
The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921.
- Park and Burgess, The City, The University of Chicago Press, 1921.
- Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., Old World Traits Transplanted,
Harper Bros., New York, 1921.
- Ross, E. A. Social Control, Macmillan Co., New York, 1901.
- Sumner, W. G., Folkways, Ginn, and Co., 1906.
- Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki Florian, The Polish Peasant in
Europe and America, 5 volumes, R. G. Badger, Boston, 1920.
- Thomas, W. I., The Source Book for Social Origins, The University
of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1916.
- Thomas, W. I., The Unadjusted Girl, Little Brown and Co., 1924,
- Wissler, Clark, Man and Culture, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New
York, 1923.

Wolf, A. B., Readings in Social Problems, Ginn and Co.,
Boston, 1916.

Young, E. F. Materials on the Community, (Manuscript).